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CULTURAL PATTERNS AND TECHNICAL CHANGE

(From the Tensions and Technology Series)

A Manual prepared by
The World Federation for Mental Health
and edited by MARGARET MEAD



*Reprinted as a MENTOR BOOK
By Arrangement with
The United Nations Educational Scientific
and Cultural Organization*



A MENTOR BOOK
Published by THE NEW AMERICAN LIBRARY

FIRST PRINTING JUNE 1955
SECOND PRINTING AUGUST 1957
THIRD PRINTING APRIL 1958
FOURTH PRINTING SEPTEMBER 1959

Reproduction [illegible] colophon [illegible] Educational Scien[illegible] and C[illegible]ural O[illegible]

Library of Congress Catalog Card No 55 8727

MENTOR BOOKS are p bl shed by
The New American Lib ary of W o ld Lite ture Inc
501 Madison Aven New York 2 New Yo k

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREFACE

The words *tech cal ch nge* have come to symbolize for people all over the world a hope that is new to mankind Through the ... most of the peoples of the world have lived close to ... ince

... solution of hunger and want w ... tr ... tialization by urbanization by mechanization by western

... shorn of the r own trad tion and provided w th no new v lues

The conflict of these two points of v ew—between those whos imagi ation s c ught by the poss bil ty of releasing

mankind from the spectre of famine and those who insist that man does not live by bread alone—finds its echo in the questions that are asked whenever technical assistance is mentioned. Eyes light up with the vision that is offered For the first time in history there is a possibility that no man need go well fed

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But then faces fall
it to be done—in

human terms? Granted that we know the technical answers how to redistribute land in units which can support the use of

epidemic and endemic diseases in the world Granted that we know all this what will be the cost in terms of the human spirit? How much destruction of old values disintegration of personality alienation of parents from children of husbands from wives of students from teachers of neighbour from neighbour of the spirit of man from the faith and style of his traditional culture must there be? How slow must we go? How fast can we go?

This is the question which is repeated in the smallest village forum where people who were yesterday illiterate today argue

primary one as political leaders plan in terms of change or of resistance to change as young technicians choose between a secure but uninteresting post at home and an adventure in tropics or desert as families or communities skimp and save to send their young people away to learn—and bring back—the new skills

It is for this reason that a manual on how to introduce a new food crop a new system of public health a new system of wage labour into some remote part of Africa or Asia is of significance to the man in the street in New York or London Topeka or Coventry Vancouver or Wellington or Brisbane He himself will not in ninety nine cases out of a hundred come close to the problem of the people of a faraway village who prefer to sleep on the ground and so are afraid of hospital beds or who fear to sleep with others over their heads and so are afraid of two-story hospital buildings Yet this book is about problems just like these How does the expert member of an international technical assistance team bring to a people the help they have asked for? How can the new changes be

introduced with the least hazard to the mental health of those who make them? These are *minutiae of expert skills* which the average reader will not have to exercise—in Southeast Asia. They are n vertheless relevant to him—in two ways

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MARGARET MEAD

mankind from the spectre of famine and those who insist that man does not live by bread alone—finds its echo in the questions that are asked whenever technical assistance is mentioned. Eyes light up with the vision that is offered For the first time in history there is a possibility that no man need go well fed to his rest knowing that his neighbour is hungry that indeed so many of his neighbours are hungry that though he broke the bread from his own table into a million pieces it would bring no real relief for a day for an hour But then faces fall as people ask the second question *How is it to be done*—in human terms? Granted that we know the technical answers how to redistribute land in units which can support the use of modern argicultural machinery how to locate industrial plants in relation to population and resources how to utilize the local food supplies to provide a nutritional diet how to reorganize town planning and water use so as to avoid the principal epidemic and endemic diseases in the world Granted that we know all this what will be the cost in terms of the human spirit? How much destruction of old values disintegration of personality alienation of parents from children of husbands from wives of students from teachers of neighbour from neighbour of the spirit of man from the faith and style of his traditional culture must there be? How slow must we go? How fast can we go?

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the help they have asked for? How can the new

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In view of the considerable activity at the present time in the field of technical assistance by the more privileged to some of the less privileged countries of the world it is indeed satisfactory that Unesco has inspired the production of this manual

Rapid changes in the industrial or social structure in any country are apt to lead to unforeseen disturbances even when such changes are initiated or supervised by nationals of that country When men and women with technical skills set out to help in shaping new developments in a country or a culture other than their own there are clearly many more possibilities of producing unfortunate consequences Sometimes great harm can be done to the people of that country especially through the cre on of

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omists educators and others along with psychologists and psychiatrists are essential if mental health and good human

being asked to
a skilled team in
the United States of America under Dr Margaret Mead s able leadership a good first contribution in this field has been prepared

Dr Mead herself sets out the plan and arrangement of the survey and suggests the type of reader which she and her

ons which will in evitably be encountered

J R REES Director
World Federation for
Mental Health

1952

I INTRODUCTION

Th s s rvey is directed toward the impl cations for the mental health of the peoples of the world who are involved in pur pos e introduction of technical change It is therefore con cerned with two n w developments the purposive attempt to cultivate mental he lth and the purposi e attempt to introduce h e been co cerned inexplic

en f man

"W rld Federati f Mental Health, 1948 p 11

of technology the political practices the sm ll intimate habits of daily life such as the way of preparing or e ting food or of hushing a child to sleep as well as th method of electing a prime minister or changing the constitut on This survey is if d awn from field work among

Unit d States (Secti) Some s profound reco ded ch nges in th r po t on in relation to es n orientation in t a

the ultimate goal of mental health to help men to live with their fellows in one world

Technical change is also as old as civilization and since time

animals writing the use of steam the factory assembly line, and the internal-combustion engine have been diffused from one country to another Relationships of relative dominance between two peoples population balances dynasties and whole religious systems have been upset by some change in technology just as the inventions which underlie technological change have themselves arisen from changing conceptions of nature and of man

Nor is the attempt to control technological change new monarchs have tried to introduce new practices among their peoples merchants have attempted to keep within national borders some valuable technical process like the weaving of cloth conquerors have educated the conquered so that they

niques which will increase production and conserve natural resources of nutritional practices which will improve the well being of a people of public health practices which will lower the death rate the incidence of epidemic and endemic dis ease and rescue individuals now doomed to physical and

ternational governmental and international voluntary and na tional governmental and national voluntary agencies are all playing a role this survey is designed to provide materials which will sensitize all those concerned with this world wide task to the mental health implications of such introduced

Ibid p 30
See Appendix B f copy f o lgl al plan as drawn up on behalf f the Wo ld Federation f Mental Health.

generation family it may be much less severe in soci ties based o l rge extended famil es like the Zadrug of the Balk ns or V 1 t s still not poss ble to say that a given cul because

ch ge for me tal *n u* t u w xp e pl d ch ge n wh ch th emphasis s on educat onal and pre ent e m a ures ather th n upon clin al and correct ve one A th Expert Comm ttee o Me tal Health of the World Health Org izat n rec mm nds

Th C mm ttee theref h ld the w th t t is only by the pre t ppl t o of psy h tri kn wl dge th t me tal health p bl m an lt m t ly be sol d

Th rvey th ef re will deal with the ways in which cha ged agric lt ral o d tri l p ct ces ew p bl c h alth p oc d w methods f h ld and maternal he lth care d f nd m t l ed t on can be int od ced so th t the cul

U i ed N WHO *T k ical R port Ser* N 9 p 6

sometimes other types of relationship develop Habits of pre-

position of someone who cannot read in a society where some people can read is very different from being a member of a society in which no one can read A change from a monarchi cal to a republican form of government affects not only those who were heir to the monarchy but also the status of all those who were defined as commoners and monarchical attitudes

which one s own body is perceived with varying degrees of

insult or a challenge one may learn to respond to few lus or punishments or merely react with terror to unusual situa tions to prefer death to dishonour or dishonour to inconveni ence Where loss of a biological parent may be a very severe trauma in a society organized on the basis of the small two-

are introduced It is definitely not a blue print, not a handbook
we to such questions as When

account.

The survey s not d rected toward policy making but might

v l ed n reducing the de th rate while the b rth rate remains high. B t t does provide materials show ng how interdepe de t ll hanges ar occurn g as th y must within a cul ture each asp ct of wh ch is inextricably r lated to every other bec use they are embod ed in the o ganiz d set of habits of the living human beings who constitut th t society It is not directed to the probl ms of local go ernme tal structure but t does offer material n the w y in which different types of social organization pr vide different types of avenues for

is respect for the culture of the hangı g soc ty necessary but

ture will be disrupted as little as possible and so that what ever disruption does occur can either be compensated for or channelled into constructive developments for the future New industrial practices for example may make it necessary for peasant populations to move to the city such a removal will contain many elements of possible disruption and disorienta

Thus Puerto Ricans, who clung to their traditional food habits with great conservatism in Puerto Rico became one of the groups most amenable to change in New York City where every condition of food purchase and food preparation differed from that to which they had been accustomed On the other hand, members of some cultures will become more con servative in certain ways when faced with strange living-condi tions and in such cases it may be more important to provide against pressure being brought in those areas of life where the conservatism is reactive and protective than to attempt to use new conditions as leverage for change

The emphasis then will be on facilitating harmonious

lives.

FOR WHOM THIS SURVEY IS INTENDED

This survey is intended for the use of individuals—experts policy makers specialists technicians of all sorts chiefs of missions and teams members of ministries of health educa

cal assistance agreements made with the Food and Agriculture Organizatio such diverse skills are called for as (in an agree- me t with the Government of Saudi Arabia) one irrigation
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This brief selection could be amplified in many d rections, but e en the smallest sample m kes clear wh t a d vers ty of skilled personnel some of whom may be inexperienced in working in other cultures is to be drawn into this world wide e rnrise

tance of taking social change into account of meeting the i t needs of the peoples in olved in the programme of obtaining
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U ited N ti ns Tech cal A i ta B d Agreem t f tech ical ass ta ce betwee the F od d Agricul O niza io f th U ted Na- tions and th G rnmen f S d Ar b TA/90/Rev 1 28 Sep mbe 1950

also understanding of how those habits and practices which must be changed *can* be changed this is an important skill f r the foreign members of teams which come into a country Those within the country who have received a modern technical education will often be so imbued with the technical superiority of the measures to be introduced that they will need reinforcement from the outside team if they are to be patient with their countrymen whose resistance to change may well seem reprehensible to them The objectivity which combines respect for the values of another culture a determination to bring about change in ways which promote the mental health of the population and a certain amount of detachment from

gestions and disastrous missteps of plans that misfired and plans that succeeded inexplicably which make up the delicate certainty of the experienced expert This survey is designed to provide the new-comer to the field with a part of what such long experience affords—to help the newly appointed minister the newly appointed administrator the soil specialist the public health physician the nutritionist or the specialist in transportation The descriptions of various experts requested in the technical assistance contracts demonstrate vividly from

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house to the land in the shapes of the fields in the relationship between temple or church or mosque and the village street, in the calendar and the vocabulary

So there is the possibility that the International Labour Office may appoint for Indonesia a general expert on social and labour questions for Pakistan two experts on employment services and two experts on vocational training" for Ecuador three experts in the fields of technical training in general craft training and training in machine shop work

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ence to advise on science teach and on the best methods for the popularization of science and An in the techni

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This brief selection could be amplified n many directions but even th smallest sample makes clear what a d vers ty of skilled personnel some of whom may be inexperienced in wo king in ther cultures is to be drawn into this world wide enterpri e

As experts from each of these diverse professional groups, *administr tors from many cou tries with w dely different cul* ... become aware

of m the f lt

ci s and th t such assistance must b channelled through the go ernment of each Member State Each tim such a request is put into eff ct a d the contract is m d publ c the horizon of all the Membe States is broadened as one more p ss bility

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of technical assistance is presented to them initiated on a world scale by the far sightedness and awareness often of a single administrative official

THE FORM OF THE MANUAL

The survey has been organized so that any section can be read independently of the others but these sections have been placed in the order which seemed to the editorial staff most useful if the survey were to be read throughout The mem

bers were born and educated in Europe and three have spent years in field work among non Western peoples In the preparation of the survey there has been a conscious attempt to

of a technical assistance team in the field This has been done following the principle that each step in any operation must have a form congruent with each later step if disturbance in functioning due to contrasts between hierarchical and team types of organization is to be avoided

Section II consists of five long studies of particular cultures selected to present as much diversity as possible within the limits of space and available material Greece" has been written by an anthropologist who is Greek by birth and edu

own particular cultures The Tiv of Nigeria is based on a published study of a formal ethnographic type Palau is the

and Burma

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servatism of a Catholic Spau su-sp king people in the midst of an English-speaking industrially oriented society Together they should provide the reader or student with some conception of the diverse value systems to which specific changes must be related and which themselves change in pattern as new technologies are introduced

cross-cultural studies dealing with

ross-cultural treatments re also designed to suggest that specialized experts may approach an und rstand g of the way in which their speci lty an be i tegrated with a whol culture

Section IV is based upon material provided by psychiatrists who have worked in situations which combined clinical psychi atric procedure with inter-disciplinary research here the materials from the other sections are discussed from a more specifically mental health point of view *This chapter has a dual* purpose to accent the technical mental health aspects of the entire question of social change and to acquaint those un

and cultural integrity are high level abstractions which must be translated into conceptions of different kinds of healthy personalities who live within and embody cultural patterns which express different aspirations different designs for living

There is one important aspect of this problem which has been purposely omitted from this survey the question of the extent to which the special preoccupations and value systems of the members of international teams drawn from Western

groups in British or American Netherlands or French cul ture as the case may be should come from inside these soci eties Two volumes directed to the problems of American

States or peoples in other parts of the world

This survey on the other hand has been prepared for use at the international level the point of view has been a world

1954 The first st dy (Edw d H pi 1952) i t f c se t dies withi th U it d States t g th with mp ti m t l Th eco d st dy as yet p blish d (C rad A en be g d) w ll deal with probl m

point of view and the emphasis has been upon the problems to which the profes on l skills and insights of the mental – It lea s to each national v well amme liverse

II STUDIES OF WHOLE CULTURES

BURMA

The culture of the Burmese is presented here as it was represented *in the illages* in the early part of this century Contact w th the Western world began with the Burmese wars against Arakan Manipur and Assam, which brought the Burmese n– Th d sc t n w th a

f social rganizati within wh ch th peoples f the w rld ha been accustomed to operate. The eader ma keep in mind th w y in which this diagram would ppea to Burmese T Greek Sp ish Ame ican, P l uan.

Th re are two ma kinds f sources f th k tch f B rmese culture.

cal medicine etc The discussion on Fundamental Education in a sense cross-cuts the others as programmes combining literacy with learning new ways of living have been found to be

atric procedure with inter-disciplinary research here the materials from the other sections are discussed from a more specifically mental health point of view This chapter has a dual purpose to accent the technical mental health aspects of the entire question of social change and to acquaint those unfamiliar with the mental health approach with a psychiatrically oriented phrasing of the issues

The concluding section deals with some of the long term problems involved in purposive social change Mental health and cultural integrity are high level abstractions which must be translated into conceptions of different kinds of healthy personalities who live within and embody cultural patterns which express different aspirations different designs for living

There is one important aspect of this problem which has been purposely omitted from this survey the question of the extent to which the special preoccupations and value systems of the members of international teams drawn from Western cultures or educated in Western values affect the work which

groups in British or American Netherlands or French culture as the case may be should come from inside these societies Two volumes directed to the problems of American technicians administering programmes of change are in preparation These will contain a careful consideration of the special set of values which American experts carry with them into other societies whether these are enclaves within the United States or peoples in other parts of the world

This survey on the other hand has been prepared for use at the international level the point of view has been a world

1954 Th first t dy (Edw d H Spice 1952) i t f se t des w thi th U ited St tes t g th with mp t m ! Th sec d st dy as y t p bl shed (C d Aren be g d) w ll d l with p bl m

point of view and the emphasis has been upon the problems to wh ch the professional skills and insights of the mental health approach could contribute It leaves to each national group the task of maki g a con cious evaluation of how well ts own nationals are now equ pped to carry out a programme involving a d sc pl ned respect for the values of all the d verse co-operating peoples of the world.

II STUDIES OF WHOLE CULTURES

BURMA

[illegible]

b t ery few descriptions of conditions since Burma became n indepe dent state on 4 January 1948 were available at the time th s chapter was written. When the past ten e s used, tra d tional Burmese culture as t was b l eved to be by scholars a d dmini trators who experienced it at the turn of the cen tury is ref rred to Howe er in a few instances contemporary records have been introduced.

f social ganization within wh ch th peoples f th w rld ha been ccus-to ed to operate. Th eader may keep in m d the w y i which thi d gram ld ppea to Burmese, T Greek Sp ish Am rican, P l n.

There are two m k ds f so es f th k tch f B rmese culture. Th m body [illegible]

The emphasis in this chapter will be upon the impact of the West—Western law and Western economic practices—on an ancient Asiatic civilization sophisticated in religious and social practices but technologically simple Under contact with the West profound changes such as immigration and commercial cultivation of land were initiated and the pressure of po,u-

arbitration the introduction of government by legal precedent and direct executive decision was difficult for Burmese and Western administrators alike The presence of the "circle of villages under the administration of one headman looked like and was converted into a district form of administration whereas the Burmese had only a personal affiliation to this headman their leader by heredity not delegated right

Burmese culture was a culture of contrasts perplexing to administrators used to the patterns of European or other

the simplicity of their economy not a money economy even though there was money Their personal autonomy belied the pattern of interdependence of young children on parents and old parents on children

Until 1824 the Burmese were voluntarily cut off from the world interested in trading neither goods nor ideas with the outside world They were a people without either great pov erty or great accumulated wealth Predominantly rural they lived in villages that were practically autonomous without policemen without enforcement of law or external authority and with very little crime or litigation Their lives like their villages were centred about a monastery which gave their private lives and the life of the village focus and rhythm Most of the men were literate the women had a great degree of responsibility in agriculture and in domestic and monetary matters The land was rich and wants were simple there was much time for festivity dancing races and dramatic per formances Work was performed without compulsion and there seems little evidence of anxiety Building a fortune was not a pattern offered to the individual The guiding principle was to increase in merit so as to be reincarnated at a higher

J S F m J I 5 p 5

and not from chart ng new paths into the future but from goin along a known route

The first effective contacts with Western ci lization were commercial Teak was exported cotton goods imported Entry into the nineteenth-century money economy me nt a change -- h B irmese who had to learn to

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large n mbers of India and Chinese imm grants entered the country S ch imm gratio was not only welcomed by the adm ni tr t on but was ven s bsidized upon occas on. Th s influx f populati can also be seen as related to the rela ti ly low population de s ty of Burma in comparison with other A t c cou tries. By the beginn ng of the twent eth century about two-th ds of the pop lat on of the six large indu trial towns n sted of imm grant foreigners In 194., Chri t stated th t there were 2 000 000 first-generation im migrants in B ma

The Burmese w re bsolute bel evers in person l worth and

West profound changes such as immigration and commercial cultivation of land were initiated and the pressure of population upon land in certain areas became a background condition for a kind of poverty and unrest hitherto unknown Since in the past government had been a matter of guidance and arbitration the introduction of government by legal precedent and direct executive decision was difficult for Burmese and Western administrators alike The presence of the "circle of villages under the administration of one headman looked like and was converted into a district form of administration, whereas the Burmese had only a personal affiliation to this headman their leader by heredity not delegated right

Burmese culture was a culture of contrasts perplexing to administrators used to the patterns of European or other Asiatic cultures Although the everyday life of the people was

the simplicity of their economy not a money economy even though there was money Their personal autonomy belied the pattern of interdependence of young children on parents and old parents on children

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If there was enough money one built a pagoda for less one could establ sh a shelt r near a pagoda for the devout, or a rest house on the mountain side or merely a small roofed structure where jars of water could be kept for the th rsty tra llers who p ssed Gifts were constantly given to the mon a d food was given daily to the

ment for th p um d
as e il spiritual merit was accumulated rather than material wealth

Health and well being which were aspects of personal h l m n There were two

created by th accumul tion of merits from past xistl e
I o d t mainta n it, it was necessary to ha e an even bal

from incarn t on.

On the oth r ha d on had to forestall e il pending from the r and their evil inte t ons constantly had to be turned away th ough some p eve ti e act s me small sacrifice Bud dh sm p nctuat d life with pos tiv d eds—acts of merit—str gthening th ind dual and moving him forw rd But these cts were separate not a part of e ery u dertaking and Buddhi t ritual t elf ex ept for the special festi als came
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Ib d. 399

inviolability they did not try to impose th ways or their k were segregat customs If the were h

ma all rule was by the village circle to urers All status exc t of the king was achieved and achievement was open to anyone through accumulation of merits strengthening what they called the *kan* a term by which we might understand personality or personal potency or luck and with a strong *kan* education could lead to status through attainment of office or by way of the monastery

Distinctions of rank were very important and were constantly made but did not depend on birth Potentially all men were born equal whatever their race allegiance or religion

The climate of Burma is tropical characterized by heat humidity and much rainfall The rainy season is from mid May to mid October and from November to February there is the relatively cool dry season Rainfall varies from region to region from 200 inches in the Arakan and Tenasserim coastal regions to the dry zone of central Burma where only about 25 to 45 inches of rain fall in a year According to the amount of rainfall the cash crop is rice or oil seeds and agricultural improvements are welcomed or rejected as unnecessary

RELIGION

It is impossible to speak of the life of the Burmese without speaking of their religion Traditionally the monastery has been the focus of village life The duty-day services at the pagoda which the villagers with their famil es eight da

way of the expression of a high standard of living was to give as an act of merit not for the sake of others but for one's own enhancement for the strengthening of the *kan*

F rnl ll op cit. p 17
Ibid p 15
B m II ndb 1943 pp 1 3
Geo g Scott (Schw y Yoe) 1910 pp 217 218 2 0
H. F elding Hall, 1906 pp 153 154 Scott, op cit. p. 221

If there was enough money one built a pagoda for less, one could establish a shelter near a pagoda for the devout or a rest house on the mountain s de or merely a small roofed structure where jars of water could be kept for the th rsty tr vellers who passed Gifts were consta tly g en to the mon asteries by simple villagers and food was given da ly to the m nd cant monks who usually ga most of it to pariah dogs — E ree mon v could be spent on other

m nt for th u dul .. {
as evil spiritual merit was accumulated, rather than material wealth.

He lth and well being which were aspects of personal notency w e also bound up with r ligion There were two

f m rit from a past existence

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On the other ha d one had to forestall evil pend ng from
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these acts w e eparate n t a part of ery dert king and Buddh st ritu l itself except for the special fe t vals came

Sc op o p 186
Ib d. p 399

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If there was enough money one built a pagoda for less one could est blish a shelter near a p goda for the de out or a
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Sc op cit. p 186
Ib d. p 399

ferings all along their way and boat races had a preliminary

epidemic of cholera struck the people at some given time during the night beat their roofs and their drums blew trumpets yelled and danced about to drive away the *nat* who was taking revenge for some insult.

These two religious systems the official Buddhism and the unformalized religion of the *nats* are the basis of concepts about health and illness misfortune well being potency and achievement The *kan* the sum of personal merits and demerits has sometimes been translated into English as *luck*

spite of strong *kan* he suffered misfortune it was because he had failed in his preventive measures against the *nats* or be-

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found they had set up a rude stage among the ruins and were enjoying a dramatic performance Hanks relates this lack of anxiety *to an absence of historicity Only the experienced* present may be said to be significant not its antecedents and future effects They did not investigate causes neither were they guided by the thought of future consequences What life brought was deserved and inevitable but this meant also that nothing was irreparable for no conflagration or famine could harm one s *kan* And deeds of some degree of merit were within everyone s power therefore achievement and rise in status were open to everyone as you desire so you get People were born in favourable or unfavourable circum stances but this was no cause for resentment or envy It was the inevitable outcome of the previous existence and the in

Ib d. pp 233 39
Ibid. pp 396 98
H F ldi g H ll 1908 pp 134 37
Ibid. pp 123 32 L M Ha ks 1949 p 298
Scott p cit. pp 66 67
Hall 1908 p cit. pp *135-36*

A ill great act of merit like bu ld
ences in his

ound which
I d ily about
every house-
tion for the
monks There was no compuls on or p is th s l ke all g ving it was do e volu tarily and with enjoyment To give was a merit, and it was the recipient who conferred a benefit on the gi er At a time of famine i Upper Burm when the villagers were gi en subsistence rat ons at government work camps they persu d d the many mo ks not to lea e the v l lages s they had intended and out of the r meagre rat ons th y bro ght b ck food every night for the monks In Upper Burm every village has its monastery but at present in Lower Burma where many of the new llages have a sh fu g popu l t on of tenants a d labourers only about a fourth of the vil lages ha e mon steries

the society of

m rs

T

Ch op pp 196 203
H ll 1906 ci pp 41-42
Sco op ci p 31 37

be out after sundown All sexual relations were abjured The

THE INDIVIDUAL

The Burmese have been called a community of equals
T

monks outrank all other people Even kings had to prostrate themselves before monks and to address them in a special language Office has led to status traditionally and still does.

bridge he knew to be broken he would give no warning as

attempt to with person 1

Ibid p 4
Ibid p 79
H ks p t pp 287 291
Ibid pp 287 288 H ll 1906 op cit. p 131

but not as power over others and to offer help would be a bid for pow r on one hand, and on the other a reflection on an other's strength.

A less symp th tic observer m y see this attitude as callousness and Hanks speaks of an absence of empathy among the Burmese The et result is irresponsibil ty for the effect of one s acts upon others When th s is added to the tenet that all de ment can be w ped out through expiation this lack of respon sibility for the effect of one s acts on oth rs meant that a man could indulge in a momentary whim to harm or kill another In March 1951 as reported in a radio news bro dcast, a pol ceman in Mandalay found a hand grenade in the street and threw it pl yfully at a crowd where it exploded and killed several people.

In the framew rk of personal inviolability cases brought for litig tion co c rned perhaps a word of abuse a threat a slap and the Burmese would cons der fine of six months earnings or a month imprisonment not too great for expiation On the oth r hand a m n wh lost p operty often d d not bring a com

l ed On

clashed with the Burmese w y of looking at h man worth and integrity

A thority w thin this framework was looked to only for gu d Th Bu mes were re dy to be rem nded to do wh t

Th

GOVERNMENT LAW AUTHORITY

yond thes h h d o m ns f e f rct g ord rs Th re was no army r gular pol d there were lm st o pri ns. H s offi als exerci ed j d l pow r but as arbitrat rs, not j dges referring to th l w books for gu danc *not for rules*

Hall 1906 op pp 225 26
Geoffrey Gore 1943 p 34
Hall 1906 op cit. p 225

The traditional administration had not been seen—as was the new—as an external authority enforced from above nor had the traditional system been regarded as interfering with the daily life of the people

The headmen were hereditary chieftains of a group of people who happened to live in adjoining villages the so-called circle They governed people not a locality so that sometimes people in the villages who had come from elsewhere

not through imposed obedience to authority The headman guided and arbitrated he did not coerce He had no policemen because they were not needed here any more than they were by the king and his officials

To Western eyes the Burmese system appeared confused, areas of authority seemed undefined the law seemed neither organized nor binding The Western administrators proceeded to make changes which they thought were in accord with pat terns already present with a view to creating uniform rational arrangements They found it confusing that some headmen

tive unit based on space

and actual practice had been administratively corrected For the sake of efficiency the district—the old circle—was cut up into villages anc ›verning unit. New dutie admen heavy penalties but no new rights were ›w con

F rni ll op c t. p 14
Ib d pp 14 15 37-38 74 75

Law and orde ly social behav our had been based on an ac
~ n not directly

twic t clean another that was missing.

Fo Burmese cust m the rule of l w was subst tuted which cluded the Brit h f rm of trial by j ry But the Burmese int rp eted the j ry system in their own w y—i stead of d h ring to strict legal precedents they applied an intimate k owledge of th i d viduals in olved accord ng to the own co cept ns of humaneness At o e t me when husband and w fe came to court the jury punished both as perpet al trouble-m kers when w man b ought a charge f rape they con

Ib d pp 37 105-6 115
Ib d. pp 14 31
Hall 1906 cit. pp 98 99

victed her of having seduced her attacker into committing adultery

Early in the new century the village system had become a mechanical contrivanc only
lar self gov
by what ha
legal system unable to control the anti social forces it liberated The early writers on Burma had been impressed by the orderly habits of the people the relative absence of crime and rarity of litigation The tremendous growth of crime in Burma since then is said by Furnivall to be related to several factors all eventually connected with the loss or lack of the

Delta—with the accompanying displacement of population—had assumed large proportions The need for functioning within the new legal framework soon encouraged the form of higher education which the Burmese would undertake most readily without outside persuasion the study of law—that is of Western law including how to obstruct and circumvent it But there was no
it to this new type of law
were struck by the easy ac
Western world calls corruption among officials Outside the village structure and the personal authority of the headman venality in the Western sense was rampant as sanctions against it had no cultural roots This is reported to be true at present also

These tendencies were of course enhanced during the Japanese occupation as in any occupied country

VILLAGE LIFE

Burmese life was predominantly village life and even now there are relatively few Burmese in cities The traditional picture of this life is that it was a very happy life with no indigents and no hard work with gaiety and very frequent festivity There was much sociability and few quarrels Rich and poor had enough to eat and ate approximately the same food All had the same amusements perhaps the rich paid

F mi all op cit. pp 31-32
Ibid p 76
Ibid p 137
Ibid. pp 137 141
Ibid pp 127 28
Hanks op cit. p 294

cover these expenses went to pay for entertainment for the vil lage for silks and bangles and above all, for charity Burmans detest hoarding and a miser was threatened with a fate as vile mc de Hall speaks of a man who lived

animals

At this period there w s no need to work more in the fields At home some crafts were practised women cooked and wove cloth Men also wove and w re sa d to produce embro deries superior to those of women Women were the petty traders of the village d almost every h use had a little shop But

living accord g to establ hed princ ples a d when it resulted in a service to thers th s w s only d tal

Hall 1906 op cit. pp 107-8 Scott, p. cit. pp 75-76 558
Scott, op cit. pp 75 79
Ibid. p 81
Ibid. pp 244-47
Ib d pp 80 247
H ll 1906 op t. p 115
Sco t, op cit. p 35

There was much festivity in the village during the nine months when it was allowed After an evening meal the young people bathed and dressed in festive clothes and almost every evening except during the rainy season there was some amusement sometimes lasting through the night There were ... en ıged to

with burning tapers the pagodas lit by tiers of lamps the ...

amusements During the months when there was no work in the fields the men loitered at home to receive visits or went visiting or they gambled Good conversation was prized

There was much noise in the village In the monastery there was the loud sound of the wooden bell And during the teaching there was the deafening sound of learning the boys shouted their lessons while trying to learn them and a really *noisy schoolroom meant that everyone was working in top form* In the village a knot of men might be talking together at the top of their voices Added to this din was the strident sound of the wagon wheels A creak of a particular whine and penetration was prized by the wagoners and people identified the approaching wagon by the key at which the creak was pitched When a family went to the duty-day services planning to spend the night on the pagoda grounds they often beat a gong along the way to announce loudly this deed of ... he valued things—with reli ... and meritorious acts and ... ositive and good and noise ... to drive out the *nats*

Parents took care of their children and children supported parents in old age as a matter of course though emotionally the individual appears to have been self-centred This accepted interdependency between parents and children contrasted with the British pattern in which parents owed support *to* children and self-esteem was tied up with independence in old age

The land belonged to the family and could not be alienated by any one of its members *and the members found it difficult* to alienate themselves from the land If they went from the *poorer* districts of Upper Burma to earn money in Lower

Ib d. pp 72 74
Hall 1906 p cit. pp 152-68
Scott op it. p 16
Ib d pp 357 361
Ibid p 82

Burma at h rvest time they were not happy until they re h r la d however useless it

gr t pl asu n food and g y apparel but there was also the vill ge m st ry wh e monks had to l ve ascetically dressing nly to cove th r bod es and eating only to reta n life and stre gth

MATERNAL AND CHILD CARE

The Burme do not have many ch ldren A family of five or

Ib d. p 106
H k p cit. p 290 Christian op cit. p 147
Charles B ant d.

Women will bathe and anoint them Men will take them to cock fights provided that they are their own off nn 1
rr

g and it do not fall into the pattern validating the deed of merit

As a rule children do not come early in marriage But every one does want to have children This does not arise from a desire to continue the family name since with the Burm
f

I ere is no desire for an heir
mulated property all wealth was the wealth of personal merits which a man took with him at death to bring into a higher incarnation But family life was enjoyed and children were wanted The Burmese are pictured by all writers as highly sociable valuing companionship con versation and sheer human noise Childless couples are con sidered unfortunate and often informally adopt the children of relatives or friends

There is marked preference for male children to fail to have at least one son is very disappointing For a woman to bear a son is equivalent to her achievement of full existence as a human being Only a male can be initiated in youth into the Buddhist priesthood and the spon orsh n
important d
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a boy whos old the expense
of a proper rite

Pregnancy is not regarded as a normal state t nn

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still born if she attends a funeral an evil spirit at the cemetery will find it easy to enter her at this period of low *kan* and in

H k p cit. p 290
G e p ct. p 29
B t p ct.
Ibid
Ib d

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d h Brant pregnancy

blood f m th womb the abdomen is rubbed daily during the

Ib d.
Sco t, p p 2
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Women will bathe and anoint them Men will take them to cock fights provided th t th

As a rule children do not come early in marriage But every one does want to have children This does not arise from a desire to continue the family name since with the Burmese tenets of rein
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portant For the same reason there is no d

The Burmese are pictured
during companionship con versation and sheer human noise Childless couples are con sidered unfortunate and often informally adopt the children of relatives or friends

There is marked preference for male children to fail to have at least on

afford the expense of a proper rite

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if she attends marriage her child is likely to be still born if she attends a funeral an evil spirit at the cemetery will find it easy to enter her at this period of low *kan* and in

H ks p t. p 290
G p t. p 29
B t tp c t.
Ibid
Ib d.

same te sing-cherishing pattern, affectionate and rejecting by turn, which according to recent information characterizes her o dinary relationsh p with her child

Breast feeding co tinues for an indefinite period, sometimes up to three or four years At six or eight months it is supple mented by fruits juices and solid foods, presented lovingly The first solid food is rice which the mother pre-chews, forms into a ball and puts in the baby s mouth The solid diet is in creased until, at weaning, the child has the same diet as adults. B t h does not e t with adults until he is about eight and has le rned the etiquette of e ting

Toilet training comes early casually and easily Mothers maintain that the bab es train themsel es naturally A West rn observer suggests that the mother holds the baby away h h m on the ground when he gives signs

PLACE OF WOMEN

For anyo e who undertakes to introduce ch ge in Burma it

H ks, p p 290.
Hall 1908 op ci pp 123 32 134-35 H ks op cit. pp. 297 98

herbs She is at any rate encouraged to eat heat producing foods such as *ngapi* (dried fish) and fried salt fish[1]

Traditionally if a pregnant woman died after the foetus was fully formed her abdomen was opened and the foetus was buried separately in a secret place to avoid disinterment by sorcerers If a baby was still born its body was wrapped with a piece of iron and was buried thus with the injunction never to return to its mother s womb

When the lochial period is over the mother is steamed and the baby has its head shaved The naming ceremony takes place after a few days when an auspicious day is determined. Traditionally the name has been limited by the specific day of birth each day of the eight day week has a group of sounds allotted to it for the initials of names of people born on those days On this day the child s head is washed for the first time by the midwife with specially prepared water and the guests wash their hands with the same water The midwife receives a present and the assembled company is feasted

According to traditional practice an exact note is made of the hour of birth and a certificate of birth is drawn for every one so that a horoscope may be cast and the auspicious periods of life may be known The certificate is kept by the parents until the child is old enough to take care of it and then it is guarded by each individual as a most valuable possession and is consulted with the aid of an astrologer There is a belief also that the particular day of birth determines the personality of the child Just as the future is already established so per sonal attractiveness is established by the day of birth A child does not have to win approval to become a favourite his day of birth has already determined that

In the early months babies are almost inseparable from the mother and are fed before they have a chance to cry The mother goes about her marketing and her household work with the baby straddled on her hip At first the babies sleep mostly in their mother s arms Gradually they are taught to like being held by others in the group who are always ready to fondle and play with them and the mother is ready to accept without comment the child who suddenly apprehensive is ready to come back Bodily contact is highly valued and is a stab
ing and reassuring factor throughout life W
not sleeping in the mother
the roof H
bies s

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B a t, op cit in the
Scott p cit. pp 3 5
Ib d pp 5 13
Go op c t p 26
Ha ks p cit. p 290

same teasing-ch rishing pattern, affectionate and rejecting by turn, wh ch according to recent information characterizes her ordinary rel tionsh p with her child.

Breast feeding continues for an indefinite period, sometimes up to three or four years. At six or eight months it is supplemented by fruits juices and solid foods presented lovingly. The first solid food is rice which the mother pre-chews, forms into a ball and puts in the baby s mouth The solid diet is increased until, at w aning the child has the same diet as adults. But he does not e t with ad lts until he is about eight and has learned the etiquette of eating.

Toilet training comes early casually and easily Mothers maintain that the bab es train themselves naturally A Western observer suggests that the mother holds the baby away from her body or sets him on the ground when he gives signs of wanting to d fecate or urinate At any rate infants learn to ind c te such w shes by the time they are six months old. It is a matter of social acceptability—not so ling the adult—rather than of cleanliness And the child is not taught to use the family privy until he discovers its purpose himself at about the age of fi e There is no pressure to grow up neither is there discou agement. Fortitude is not stressed A child when hurt or sick is held in the arms of tho e who love him

The Burmese child gets a good deal of attention but there is neither continuity nor predictability in it He is held and fondled much but often by people who have no continuing responsibility or concerned affection f r him His father may be indulgent at one moment, giving him money for sweets and brusque and ind fferent at another The same is true of the mothe wh may be demonstrative or indifferent according to unpredictable whims She may be warmly cherishing or teasing There is no temporal continu ty or pred ctability but there is the ever pre ent assu ance of human companionsh p of someone who w ll hold and fondle *now* The Burmese are reported to how a complet bsence of that anxiety which we ssociate with insecurity

PLACE OF WOMEN

For anyo e who undertakes to introduce change in Burma it is important to be awar f the positi n f women there T a d tionally they have occup ed a high pos tion and have had a very important share n th affairs of the vill ge Theoretically they w e lesse th n m n—if we are justified n arranging them in h erar hical orde Fo x mple a good woman could

Gore op t p 29
G op t 27 Scott, op cit. pp 85 87
Ibid pp 26 27
H ks p t p 290.
Hall 1903 op cit. pp 123-32 134-35 H ks op cit. pp ...

hope to be reincarnated as a man The hire for women was less than that for men and for this reason the compensation paid for killing a woman by accident was likewise less than that paid for a man Officially women as well as men stated that men were superior

As according to Buddhist tenet each man was responsible for his own acts woman could not be considered evil for "tempting man If a monk met his downfall through a woman she could not be blamed for being a woman the monk was at fault for failing to discipline his emotions However when a woman brought a complaint of rape to a British court the jury—all Burmese—punished her instead for seduction

Th f —

were responsible for most of the farming activities men did the heavier work and the women and children did the rest Women actually were the more actively religious at the home

a fight arrest culprits and send them to jail

Girls kept their own names at marriage and wore no sign of

h — Th

and women deferred to their husbands Marriages were good when the combination of birthdays was an auspicious one and in general divorce although easy was not common Either husband or wife could ask for a divorce Women were easily provoked were supposed to have less patience and often asked for a divorce the Burmese magistrates as a rule paid no attention to their requests unless repeated often and with some reason A husband might request to be divorced because he had no male issue or because his wife did not love him or defer to him a woman might complain that her husband was poor or ailing or idle or had been crippled after the marriage The people distinguished among causes for divorce and divorces

H ll 1906 p 297
Ib d p 171
Ib d p 172
S tt p it pp 68 69 244-45
H ll 1908 p t pp 102 176 81
Scott p t. p 53
H ll 1906 p t p 169 74 189 90
Scott p cit pp 60 61

based on unacceptable c uses were looked upon unfavourably It was said of a divo ced woman that 'She fits all men as a pot its l d (th t is, She s easy to get) If a man entered a monastery to get rid of his wife he was called a jungle run aw y

The d fference between men and women was given symbolic express on Men carried loads on their shoulders women on their he ds Women did the work of the household which was light also they ran the store wh ch was part of almost every village household They husked the rice in wooden mortars they made cheroots they cooked They had looms under the house where they wove fabrics but the men produced the best f brics as their embroidery surpassed that of the women The posts of the houses all had sexes the male on s were consid ered easy-going and harmless the female ones fortunate and leading to honour the female posts were ones wh ch were 'road at the base A man s riches consisted of his learning i family and his good name his pride lay in being celebrated nd feared for the strength of his mind and body A woman s ches consisted of her beauty and her pride lay in her ability talk in a pleasant and amusing way

At the age when boys joined the monastic order girls under went an ear p ercing during a great three-day celebration which marked their official entrance to the status of womanhood This was the only festival in a woman s life there were several fes tiv ls for boys and men

In general women were actually fully equal to men, han dling their own property acting in their own right, negotiating family matt rs making decisions They were not dependent on men except inc dentally in so far as there was nterdepend en e among all members of a f mily During the period of Western administration, this self-dep ndent role of women— wh ch differed both from European and from most Asiatic pat t rns—was not taken into account.

FOOD

Burmese behaviour is markedly oral Men and women smoke a l rge part of the time or chew betel Monks are not allowed to smoke but they chew betel all the time Drinking does not form part of the picture Peopl drank water when thirsty and some tea They did not drink anything at meal times and their many med cati ns were very rarely in liqu d form Pr gnant wom n reduced their liquid consumption even further On the

Ibid.
Hall 1906 op cit, p 197
Sco t, p cit, p 77
Ib d, p 222
Hall 1906 p 177
Sco t, op. t,
Scott, op t, pp 70-72

other hand monks and the devout during Lent had to fore-
go ll n d

p gu ill and locnial woman was given hot treatments and heating foods while the monks consumed only cooling liquids most of the day

In the villages some rice liquor was drunk but never in the house and since the introduction of Western civilization some beer and other alcoholic drinks may be taken However a drunken Burmese is rarely seen and drunkenness generally is

s so flesh for a curry was not easy to find The villagers kept fowl but apparently mainly as pets and for entertainment There is usually however a preserved form of fish a paste called *ngapi* at every meal and this is highly nutritious Apart from rice this is probably the food which the Burmese identify as distinctive of their native diet.

The family eats at a
floor or on low stools
food

l in the
There

a g snacks perhaps a fried cake or so purchased from an itinerant seller throughout the day During Lent the devout eat only the morning meal

The rice is still often husked by hand with a large wooden mortar and pestle It is boiled in a large kettle of water over a wood or charcoal fire until tender The kitchen is usually detached from the house and when anything is fried in oil

HEALTH

Completion of the Body

No man can assume true manhood or even true humanity unless he has assumed the yellow robe of the monk if only for a few days It usually happens when a boy is around 15 For this reason villagers were not sure that an Englishman had achieved full humanity And no girl can become a woman unless her ears are pierced There was a feeling a boy had to ensure his manhood by tattooing the region above and below the waist sometimes as far down as the knees This also enhanced his effectiveness in achievement and his endurance. Tattooing was also a charm against dangers like snake bite This custom however is disappearing Soldiers and bandits would have charmed jewel and pieces of gold or silver let into the flesh under the skin and when jailers cut them out, the bandit's spirit would be broken

The Burmese were ready to add things to the body in other ways also Long hair was prized—that is hair in a thick knot—and both men and women added false hair to it It was like wearing festive clothes and no secret was made of it And one thing apart from deeds of merit upon which they were very ready to spend surplus money was festive apparel and personal adornment in general.

Hygiene

The Burmese bathed in the morning when they got up and after sundown after they had eaten the last meal of the day The purpose was not cleanliness but to freshen up for enjoyment and also as part of the preparation for the evening's amusement Soap was not used The hair was washed less often, as a special ceremony and with circumspection Water was used to rinse out the mouth after a meal but it is not clear whether it was for refreshment—since no liquid is drunk with the meal—or for cleanliness

Water was drawn from shallow wells which were not protected against pollution Drinking water was strained but only to remove the visible living creatures a Buddhist must not destroy life Monks carried strainers with them on their rounds When a Western scientist showed them the teeming micro-

Scot ... cit, p 394
Ibid pp 39-41 42-47 48
Ch ... an op cit p 145
Scott, p ... pp ... 3-44
Ibid. pp. 63 72

scopic life that came through the strainer he was told that people were responsible only for the destruction of living beings that they saw with the naked eye

There are few pit latrines in the villages and when the villagers have been persuaded to build them they often cannot be persuaded to use them There have been attempts to make the people wear shoes for protection against soil borne diseases but these have not been successful either Communal lands which in the past had been set aside for hygienic purposes have often been taken up for cultivation by the villagers since the increase of cash crops and the loss of organic unity of the vill Th n y
hou
of t
the
it creates much more of a hazard to health

Medicine and Treatment

Health is one of the areas of life which are maintained through a strong *kan* and through preventive measures By following his horoscope a man learns to be careful on his unlucky days. He takes preventive measures on many occasions as a part of the complete procedure for example for many people to take a bath means to utter a charm over the first jarful of water as a precaution against illness A pregnant woman takes more precautions since she has to depend largely on these as her *kan* is weak Food is considered as affecting health and monks before they eat say a grace in which they state that this is their only purpose in eating

When a man falls ill he is eager to have a physician in attendance and is ready to take medicine in fact medication is very common in the lives of the people At their morning grace the monks state that their medicine is necessary for their health which is necessary for diligence So a sick man immediately demands medicine as well as other treatment

There is a complex system or a combination of systems of treatment of illness The two main systems revolve around the theory of the four elements of the body and their state of

born under different planets There are moreover two oppos

Ib d. p 343
F ll p cit. pp 144-45
Scott p t. p 73
Ib d p 31
Ib d pp 419 20
Ib d p 31

...ing pain and d scomfort in one portion of the whol body If th different systems of medicine fail a spell is diagnosed and a "witch-doctor is called.

Apart from massage there is tr atment by objects introduced into the body There is a large variety of herbs seeds, powdered stones etc used as remedies. Almost all med ca m nt cons sts of solid liquids are rar as they are in the r gu l r d et of the Burmes When the drug phys cian fa ls with his pills and oth solids the witch-doct usually comes and he also ntrod es things into the body of the patient he st cks pins into him or forces red pepp r into his eyes It may be sug gest d that this is one reason why although the Burmese ac cepted inject ns with ase they resist d vaccinations An esth tics also would probably be quite acceptable since they a e been given for pa nful tattooing

Ind vidual practitioners are known for their spec al ab l ties in certain kinds of disorders and for their own often secret, rem d es British commentators seem to feel that there is a good deal of evid nce that these remed es are efficacious Scott c t s the cas of a man n Rangoon who after the best Western doctors in Rangoon and Calcutta had failed to cu e h m of varicose ulce s was h l d peedily by a Burmese p actitioner It w s f om such pract ti ners that West rn med cine learned to us oil of chaulmoogra for leprosy

Death is n t f a ed by the nd vidual Life and death are on a part of th road of existence and to d e is to take on an other lif There s no religious sacrament at death A man d es with his family around him a d perhaps the headman comes to say to him R member your good deeds But death is ter rible for the survivors because th is no hope of ever meet ing again fter d ath o at any rate of meeting again the same form and personal ty n the same relationship in wh ch the d d bel ed was known

Attempts at the int oduction of Western type med cal and hosp tal c re into Burma were ac ompan ed by many diffi culties B rmese pract t on rs ha lost the place they held when the headman rul d the rcle nd gave them hi support The land n wh ch they earch d f r their i g ed ents is now oft n u de culti ation they ften have to buy these in

Ib d, pp 417 19
Ib d, p 421 B ant, p cit.
Scott, op cit, p 421
Ib d, p 21
F rn all op t, p 147
Sco t, op t, p 40
Ibid p 417 B t, p t, Ch
Hall 1906 op cit, pp 281 87 H ll, 1908 op cit p 231 p cit, p 139

gredients in the market now where they may be found to be adulterated and ineffective St ll h agers will not seek out W — And to go to a hospi)eople to whom com hospital rule of isola b ul suffering The imposing structures alarm people accustomed to living in houses of at most three rooms. The large central hospitals mean leaving home and village be hind at a time when reassurance is most needed The physi cians were usually all foreign and so were the attendants In addition there are other f ors D

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s uddenly by a hospital routine which does not first allow his besides he may be awakened wandering soul to return to his body When hospital routine necessitates his going against his religious beliefs this in creases his already insecure position

In recent years health standards have been higher than those of neighbouring countries it has been suggested that this is due to the generally adequate food supply and the suitability of housing and clothing to the conditions of the climate In the cities however health conditions are not good Rangoon before World War II was said to have the highest death rate from tuberculosis In 1938 the urban death rate was 30 18 per thousand as compared to 19 13 per thousand in the villages

But intensive health work shows th good obtained W – in rural ar I d

u p ns call for the creation of u I many towns ties The realization of these plans is very highly contingent upon the improvement of the total economic situation of the country and upon the ability of the gov rnm c

Physicians in private practice are found in the more important u | tals and clinics

F rnl ll op cit pp 120 140 148 356
Scott p cit pp 76 79
Ibid pp 394 95
Ch i ti p c t pp 151 52
E ch H J coby 1949 p 94

Th I rs tv of Rangoon operates a school

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EDUCATION

B fo and during the early years of British occupation the Th u e to be found in

unhappy pictur of the monastic school in the past. Burm ese informants now d ys emphasize the neg tive aspects of the s bmi o to the autho ty of the monks

Th Brit h administr t on i troduced vernacular schools giving in tru tion in the vill ges and Anglo-vernacular

p pil f om th ir culture as they empha ized respect f r We tern w ys and child en atte ding them often found it d fficult to ad pt th ms lv s to their communit es after they finish d school.

Th l y schools pro ided women with some l teracy Girls were t to learn how to keep ccounts f r their t ad ng and al o to get them t f the way Sin e ch ldren were s nt to school as a pla wh e they would be c d for nd since the

B rma F ct d F cures 1946 pp 36 37
H nk p cit. 93
F rn ll op ci pp 203-8

marily set up to teach boys how to make a living taught them how to live They taught discipline morality and inter personal relations They trained in equalitarian living all within the monastery walls were equal and performed menial duties together played and shared life together The lay schools whether governmental or missionary stressed success in examinations above all Morality and discipline deteriorated, and in 1932 the Director of Education noted that districts with the best record for education had the worst record for crime

Higher education in Burma has created new problems On one hand it created racial consciousness as Burmese graduates of professional schools found that they were not treated with the respect accorded their European colleagues on the other it resulted in a class of the educated as opposed to the unedu cated and since it was mainly the urbanites who could send their children to the university defined the splits between the village and the city Burmese culture and foreign culture Many educated urban Burmese know very little about rural Burma and the life of the people in the villages Furthermore it is the well to do who can afford to give their children this education In the past there was no such distinction since all education was free and the boys did not have to leave the vil lage to receive it So that now in place of the equalitarian training of the monastic school we see the rise of unequal classes

Certain traditional Burmese attitudes remain and obstruct the aims of higher education In the traditional Buddhist schools the purpose of learning was to show th w n upright life there w no d

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the city for short

want to return w

edge They prefer y n town and seek a white-collar job

p y ut s knowl

This is of course a very common character stic of the edu cated groups in countries in which highe d veloped b fo d

In the p

monastic

and a resp c ! u family The lay school substituted c pines an economic incentive for a social incentive but few went through enough ye rs to be able to achieve economic advance ment through their education And those who did either found

Ib d p 130

Ib d p 205

opportunities for making a living through their specialized education closed to them, or found these unacceptable So there is still little incentive for Western type of education in Burma. There is now more literacy in Burma th n before but this is not the result of the lay schools but of the pre alence of public notices the railroad *signs* and the opportunity to use one s knowl dge of reading The postal system itself fosters a latent demand for adult literacy For literacy to continue into adulthood there is a need for more material to read for a lit ratu e to be made available to the people at large in their own language

AGRICULTURE

Cultiv ting the land was an enjoyable part of living The Burmese like to be *out of doors* nd the *cult ation itself d d not* tak very much time produced no pressure and created few anxieties In the relatively dry sections where rice was grown there we e freq ntly years too dry for the rice then millet would be grown which though less well liked still afforded subs stence In the sections where the flat land retained the rains of the south western monsoons the soil was very easy to wo k d exceedingly rich fertilized by the silt. There was no eed to w rk against time as the weather was predictable It

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spare f r gaming and for deeds of merit. Pressure to save

m o h e bee

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cre ting a f rtune or buyi g imp rt d goods in f ct there were lmost e to buy Thus th gh money was in use this

Bra t, p F rn ll p lt. pp 202-6
F rni ll op p 209
Sc t, p pp 244-46 80
Furn all, p t. pp 15 16 85 87 88

r and thresh ng were all

ing ving. m h s actually changed more ui u of the

u ai uu ty
Cond t ns in Upper Burma have changed also under u e
h We t

culture
Presently the organ c u t w atomized Under the stress of
h of

protected d a subs ten e e nomy Now e n it there was time fo th soc l g th rings the bullock races and the dances a d theatrical th was no place to hold them The ch nges which r ulted fr m Western ont ct d d ot cr ate atomiza tio b t th y d d prod cond t s wh ch accentu ted inter p rson l p tt ns whi h w al e dy the l t r p rso al

F rni ll ci pp 48 89 90 193 293 300
Ib d p 298
Ib d pp 3 36 298 300 303
Ib d. pp 137 8

ization of this ilt, it should be spread and ditches should be dug. But the pe ple feel no need to i troduce impro ements on land which they w ll lea e in a few months and as for the im mediat crop it is obvious that it will grow without such improvement.

ORIENTATIONS

Time

The Burme e h d various ways of c mputing time without the use of timep ces There were the definite seasonal changes which introduc d the teps of agricultural acti ity Defin te

pressure of time.

M cha zat

Factory m d cotton goods were subst tuted for th ostly silks th t h d bee w en and emb o de ed by h nd in the vil lages Ma hine m de crockery plac d th beautiful lacquer w re nd l al pottery By 1911 th mb of peopl em ployed in spin g nd w ing h d f llen off by o e half

J coby p p 77 78
Sco t, t. p 30
Ib d. p 107
Furni all, op ci pp 100-1

he made in excess of his family s needs went toward effecting change in his own stage of life t d d n t change the standard ect f the family house or of the village od

ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

k 44 *B rma Village* Ed 50b n S *o ld* Vir *t al*

GREECE

Th tud f G eek cul ur is b sed l gely on interviews co espo dence and mem anda, nduc d and p ep d in the tum nd winte f 1950-

he made in excess of his family s needs went toward effecting change in his own stage of life it d d not change the standard of li ing o the aspect of the family house or of the village except in so far as an act of merit, such as building a pagoda chan d the face of the village in an established and accepted w y The road was known and secure and following it the ind vidual could move securely

From the outset, the changes which came through Western contact cut at the very roots of the traditional pre-established o d r by bringing change where the individual had depended upon immutabil ty

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GREECE

The culture of the Greeks is here presented as an integrated wh le The Gre ks hav been selected out of the European nat on now ngaged in introducing technical change because they represent a unique case. They have the most ancient c v ilizati n f the Eur p an continent, yet their techn cal devel opment at pr sent s one of the lowest. The history of their industries and factorie goes back more than 2 500 years yet they now res t industrialization They are European yet they look toward th M ddle East and hare a numb r of attitudes with the peopl of this area. They are Christians but with a pecial kind of Christianity h ghly ritualized and imp rsonal, and incorporating much of local origin.

Individ alism is prized and rampant, y t there is no atomiza tion. Self-esteem is paramount and rests on f eedom and self dependence yet Gre ks do n t se k fre d m from the family

The dy f G eek cultu b sed l gely interviews correpo d ce and memoranda ond cted and p ep ed to th m d w t f 1950-51 N wsp pers and magazin es f this tim w re lso co ulted. Tw Ma ternal and Child Ca Ma al f rec years ral collecti ns f f lk songs and pop la h morous k er ns ly lysed. Accounts b peopl engaged in introducing cha ge cons j d. Th writer h rself Greek by b th and upb gi g has depe ded lso h wn firsthand experien f th culture. The m script was bmitted to tw Greeks f co men nd criticism.

where a ... village sc ... ance of t ... pass out ... of popul ... tion, help ... introd ce ... all tation child care and the ... also undertook to ... of living generally Changes in the areas of agriculture and the standard health were introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation In the thirt es the d ctator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values but many of which w re accepted gratefully by people wearied of pol tical dissension and lack of leadership World War II with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupat on, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief and more rece tly of the POS agency of the ECA have all been agents of change.

Th re are many kinds of Gr eks The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twent es differ from the so-called old G eeks The city Gr eks cons der them sel s v ry different from the peasants There is a vogue for p sant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban G eeks like to take on the ways of fore gners to use the prod ucts of technology e en the processed foods of technology Many Fr nch and English word are used in their speech They take on the attitud s of the Western wo ld using clocked time in business and l ving a life relatively p ssed for time, adopting to some ext nt the Western scientific approach and bj ctive xternal limits instead of the more animistic approach and the body patterned limits of tradit onal Greek cul ture Th re are lectures here on health and hygiene on child ca and co-operat on and nutrition In Athens the mus c and the drama are exc lle t and in l e w th Euro-American de velopm nts There is r pid transportation There are many associations based on fore gn patterns the YMCA and the YWCA, the Gi l Gu des and the Boy Scouts football groups and h king groups Ther a e fo gn att tudes about travel people go to tour the ountry or the world in tead of going to vis t a rel tive o a family fr end or a mi culous shrine The diff rence ch s ts g te t inten ty as betwe n the educat d G eeks and th peasants who though lite ate have no high educat on

People f d ffer nt regions hav a diffe ent way of life The mountainous terrain the bsen e of easy c mmunicat on ex cept c astwise d ff r nces in d alect and local history and most of all th extreme pe sonal indep nd nce of the people ha fost red tr mend u ariat on f om pla e to place To the wo ld at la ge a man may be a G k but to other Greeks he is a Ma edon an an Arc dian, or an Epirot. More than this

treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine often begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers This is
h C e k esteems in himself what constitutes his

core of the Gre k must never be exposed and *e t ope* the Greek word for shame mod sty dece cy prop ety self-con
w d Th s is a

work of the thirties which gives a humorous report of the cases in the Court of Petty Offences a large proportion of the cases arise out of this molestation of the *philotimo* The reaction is immediate either in scathing invective such as name-calling or as physical attack Offence against one s *philotimo* brings retaliation not
Athens
as a res
Freed
a Greek
you are not even the flowers in the spring It gave the Greeks a great sense of freedom to defy Hitler in the
knowledge th

know edge that they had no was upheld by their
they had been defeate
by monstrous machin
submission has no bear
To suggest to a Gree
ard of living because
philotimo as a person Greek There is need for aid
now because of acts of God not

before the change and form conservative communities in their new country continued to take care of their own unemployed and orphaned they were adapting the village pattern besides their *philotimo* would not allow them to expose to outsiders their failure and inadequacy However Greeks will accept aid when it is their right within a structured relationship they will accept it as their share from the nation for which they have fought or from the nation which they have helped in its war against the forces of evil and Greeks stand firm in the knowledge that they were vital in bringing about the defeat of the Nazis by delaying Hitler s plans They will also accept help without losing their *philotimo* when the need comes through an act of God Their ways of making a living are adequate under normal circumstances but now because of destruction occupation soil ero

not See what I have

J Lee Schr 1947

h tf See what the nation has come to and then
g of

IMAGERY OF SELF

The image of the self includes that of the body and of the per sonality the person Life is structured and experienced accord ing to the rhythm and patternings of the body and ethics are
1 al es and roles just as
gical relation
es to descr be
to praise the

personal qualities of an dored le der

There is no refer nce to softness in any of the personal folk songs of th Greeks, the dystichs directed toward a loved o e the lull b es the dirges composed for a relative The be loved is commonly lik ned to a tree somet mes to a fruit tree
m h ll h d re-

crooked and to make the r b cks firm The gesture of mother

burns a love s ghs and 3 000 trees burn up It s common fo a passi g youth to s y to girl You burn my heart.

The body image is the image of the Greek character ~ ~
tude and hardihood firm will a love of simplicity in foc
entertainment, furnishings the standard of living in gener
are common traits Greeks will smoke only a few cigarettes
day drink within measure and eat in moderation excess
disliked Fortitude is an ever present quality the *philotim*

firm You do not even ask yourself ahead of time whether yc
have the necessary fortitude a Greek takes no inventory
himself because from the time he was a baby his parents sa
to it that he grew straight and hard and because he know
himself to be a Greek A current book on child care warr

giving in to a desire for pampering Even to fall asleep is u

are not
of be-
when,
in voting on an important issue by roll-call a member of
parliament answers Five thousand times yes or when white
pigeons are released in the House by the victorious party This

Greek
The organs of highest significance are the eyes They are

means We missed you

In the folk songs, a beloved s eyes shoot arrows, strike with poiso ed sword catch a man in a net, they burn the heart or re k it into p ces they le d astray they bewitch they de- troy Glances are rarely sweet, and never soft or gentle, in the e dystichs Here eyes are always black, perhaps because one apprehens e if th y are blue the colour of the evil eye It is ifficult to ver stimate the joy of sheer vis on. The folk songs re full of the beauty of flowers and meadows and streams of he sea with its fleet of sail boats of the blue of the sky In illages and towns the people go strolling after work is done calling this not a promenad but *syrja l* enjoyable view ng When a long absent loved one is returning, people con- gratul te saying Light for your eyes

Next to the eyes come the lips but, red and sweet though they be they are primarily important because of the words which come out of them. Like the eyes they lead astray not through making false promises but by engendering love. Speech s of e trem importance to the Greeks since it estab- li hes and fosters th all imp rtant personal relationships Al ... o t th illage festival ... tgs ... uic ... se. ... at ... ee.

Th e are o ations in the c u e o se u few people gather togeth r Even learned papers r scientific jour n l wh not der fo m influ nce are ften couched in oratory *Co end* con sat n s r cognized form of ... w th

B y nd th f tu es f th he d v ry l ttl f th body is

mentioned in the personal folk songs Genital organs never be mentioned and many women know no names for them Out of over 400 love couplets analyzed only one mentions the breast 'your breast is like Paradise Formally as a general division of the body—the chest—the breast is named

embarrassment and when a mother is nursing there is no embarrassment about exposing the breast for suckling

The sense of smell is extremely important to the Greeks In the personal folk poems there is much mention of sweet smelling flowers herbs trees musk and cinnamon a beautiful girl she is says a rhyming game An unexpected guest will be offered a smell of whatever the housewife is cooking or the family is eating And it is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door and in a grocery store a customer often offers a smell of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer

Orderliness is a highly valued quality Love songs mention the orderly hair the orderly teeth The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child s teeth and facial contours giving several sketches and

all right or 'under control is "in order

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart if not their basis in the body The body is never naked or perhaps only when absolutely necessary Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion but it is all a matter of hygiene no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere Conversely dress and particularly festive dress "dress of splendour" and ornamentation are of great importance and in fact are essential to complete the body When beautiful girls are described their clothing and their jewelry are given at least as much place as their bodily charms and

dimension. And the lower world, which holds no joy, is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and uncompromising.

The body and the self, the Greek person, defines, patterns and gives shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when [illegible]

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had to use not impersonal scientists but people who were predominantly leaders, with scientific knowledge, people who were willing to go and live in the villages, and make the acquaintance of the peasants over coffee in coffee-houses. And the villagers fell in with the proposals for new hygienic methods and child care and artificial insemination because they had respect for and faith in the man who made the proposals. And where schemes introduced in the name of self interest did not succeed, those introduced in the name of the respected leader did. "For your sake" is a common sanction. The continuous presence of the leader is not, however necessary once the personal loyalty is there In recent years, foreign experts have made the mistake of operating mainly from [illegible]

receiving CARE parcels impersonally make great efforts to attach a person to the name of the sender; they often write very personal letters trying to send photographs of themselves, "so that you can see us." In Greece there are no political bosses in [illegible] too personal, too much bound by personal loyalty to be swayed by self interest. On the other hand, we do find demagogues who by sheer oratory and force of personality can inspire loyalty to themselves, and the [illegible] to the [illegible]s. If there are irregularities at the polls they come about not through the selling of one's vote,

mentioned in the personal folk songs Genital organs must never be mentioned and many women know no names for them Out of over 400 love couplets analyzed only one mentions the breast 'your breast is like Paradise Formally as a general division of the body—the chest—the breast is named in the same way for men and women and the term can be used freely In its form of a female breast it must not be mentioned, as none of the sexual areas are mentioned Its functional term, however the nursing breast *vyzi* is commonly used without embarrassment and when a mother is nursing there is no embarrassment about exposing the breast for suckling

The sense of smell is extremely important to the Greeks In the personal folk poems there is much mention of sweet smelling flowers herbs trees musk and cinnamon, a beautiful girl she is says a rhyming game An unexpected guest will be offered a smell of whatever the housewife is cooking or the family is eating And it is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door and in a grocery store a customer often offers a smell of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer

Orderliness is a highly valued quality Love songs mention the orderly hair the orderly teeth The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child s teeth and facial contours giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes In houses which contain only one room areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order The Greek equivalent of set to rights or all right or under control is in order

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart if not their basis in the body The body is never naked or perhaps only when absolutely necessary Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion but it is all a matter of hygiene no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere Conversely dress and particularly festive dress dress of splendour and ornamentation are of great importance and in fact are essential to complete the body When beautiful girls are described their clothing and their jewelry are given at least as much place as their bodily charms and are not treated separately and when a brave yo[illegible] is mentioned his trappings a[illegible] and bri[illegible]

l carr
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perh ps not by the immediate relatives of the impartial man. Such people inspire what amounts to worship

Co-operation in this framework is actually mutual aid, one person helping the other r it is loyalty to the leader who initiates a co-operative undertaking, with men contributing their work for his sake and women bringing gifts to him

and the law is external to the organic structured whole. It is n t the or f C ce The

WORK

Att tudes towards work, t me planning and spending arise also from the person or body as pattern and definition.

Wo k is life for the Greek. It is the person in function Things l k nort k in the There interd time wo k day b t o l L

Dil g nce is part of th image of th self it is a personal q al ty warmly dmi ed. To call gi l *p oc mm e* diligent, is to ay something about her attracti eness A poem which schoolchildren us d t m morize spoke of the joyous little housewif the little girl who got up early to s t the house in ord r There was noth ng of the epelle t goody goody bout her and noth n ra ho joyo s Th to the d girl t ing in the

and only recently in Athens which has been affected by foreign ideas did a plea in the name of the suffering peasants find true response An organization called Friends of the Village was formed and the aid given is by specific persons to specific people or [illegible] ship A peasant wom[illegible] accepts the gift with [illegible] now my sister and your family is my family

Americans who excel in impersonal kindness are always surprised to see their human warm generous Greek friends remain unmoved and unresponsive in the face of suffering strangers Greeks *on the other hand* are surprised to see their kind American friends [illegible] of paper according to [illegible] deprive themselves of [illegible] and even bankrupt themselves but they recognize their responsibility to give only where personal relations are involved

This is also true where truthfulness honesty loyalty and obedience are concerned Greek parents are agreed that the principal thing to teach their children is to be honest and to tell the truth but this of course means to be honest in their dealings with their parents and other relatives and all the friends of these and with people who value them and trust them as persons Honesty in abstraction is not a virtue, and may even be branded as foolishness Loyalty also is [illegible]

only to the government and to the unknown Greeks [illegible] they were good in terms of the family to whom an individual owes his loyalty

Responsibility is not social responsibility but family responsibility or it might be extended to friends and to the village. With loyalty evoked only [illegible] Greeks cannot be impart[illegible] goods To take care of o[illegible] or of an order of priorit[illegible] one s role Yet impartiali[illegible] maintain in the face of strong forces and temptations to bend and devotion to an abstract ideal of honesty just because it is saintly are highly admired in Greece—though

clock however in the cities he now functions under clocked tim because he comes under government and union regula tions. Eve in the United States though conservat ve Greek h es l fe to the time of

it
y
gradually They know when to go to churcn y t wneu a cert n Mass the

nd whe it is n t a conscious end
To introd ce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly

iting which is more than the naked ct of co sumpti n.
will e d his m l with an orange which he will peel with

make cruel fun of the lazy wife who cômes to grief Visitors to Greek villages bring back a picture of a busy happy life, of the girls a[illegible] square as the shade of the on the outdoor brazier of her daughters working beside her and the little children running about, playing or running errands *of husband and wife walking to the fields* an hour or so away the little children running by their side the swaddled baby hanging stiffly at the mother s hip swinging with every step They show a picture of shared family work as the medium of family life as the way in which the growing child comes to belong to and identify himself with the unit of his birth

Diligence is an internal attitude it rests on self-discipline and free incentive it includes interest and enjoyment. It does not mean a valuation of work for its own sake it is the personal quality of diligence not work itself which is good. To work compulsively is to be a slave to work and what can be worse than slavery? Even to work under the compulsion of *work as a virtue is to deny oneself prized freedom all work* under pressure such as the pressure of a time limit or the dictates of an employer means loss of freedom. Industrialization and work in urban centres usually run counter to this value Greeks who emigrated to the United States to earn money for their sisters downies or for land needed by the family worked incredibly long hours but neither through external nor through inner compulsion They worked at their own shoeshine booths or their own fruit stands or restaurants they took on unfamiliar occupations such as cooking, rather than submit to an employer

TIME

Greeks 'pass the time they do not save or accumulate or

the fields and it u

At night women visit and gossip men join them or go to the coffee-house there is story telling and ardent political discussion and as for any work done after dark "the day takes a look at it and laughs" Wherever there is no law to the contrary a man opens his store in due course not by the

nd since it extends into the future Greeks try to see to it that there are means for the education of the son or the dowry of the daughter or for an added field or a gold ornament for the wife. They ha e no faith in the future, and know that it will not take care of itself So as a rule they buy only what they can pay for now and will not expand either business or standard of living on the basis of future profits.

Greeks go in debt for subsistence and what they cons der necessities. They do not like to borrow for luxuries or for the creation of wealth. If they have enough for necessities then any rise in income is sheer surplus It does not have to go towards relieving the strain on the budget, or to pay a dreaded instalment on a radio and, as a rule, it does not raise the standard of living. The Greek likes his life he does not see why he should give up his lunch of cheese and bread, or his delicious *c mmatiast* (stews) just because now he can afford roast lamb every day Such things belo g to festive occasions. The surplus will be put back into the business or saved intact for the family or given in beneficence

The w althy Greek of good family that is who has been prope ly brought up is not distinguis hed b
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THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

I d ot envy others f th ir vin y rd and their gardens,
I nvy nly those wh st y in on pl ce
And most I e vy those wh h broth rs and first cousins
To griev w th th m and jo ce with them
And t h lp each th when anyth g befall
(Cretan f lk-song)

Greek society starts with th f mily and is p tterned on it. It extends tward f m t A hild is born into a group and remains part of the gro p through no ffort of ts own, through n ttempt t pl as W rk and pl y eating con ersation celebration re ll in t rms of thi unit, and are the way in whi h belo g gness is t ken n and r affirmed W der con tacts com th gh the f mily and its extensi ns A child s friends th f mily fri nds and their children and the

often used is Don t hurry" One does not admonish another to coerce himself and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness There is the gentle hint, Won t you make speed? There is the reassuring I have finished meaning I am coming to the end as fast as I can and there is the urgent call for help Arrive!

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now both in the city and the village Watches are an important part of a man s trappings and of a girl s adornment Clocks are nec essary to complete the furnishing of a house It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time or that they run at all. If h a n ...

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fe
ly

and minutes but these are merely references to the passing of time rather than its measure Visitors asking how far it is to the next village find that 'five minutes may mean half an hour or two hours but they find that the answer A cigarette away does provide an accurate measure

In spite c ...
the school
active func
gatherings
people are ca... u Englishmen when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other person is also just arriving or if they find him gone they usually accept the fact with neither apology nor frustration

STANDARD OF LIVING

The standard of living is set not by a scheme but by the needs of the person shaped and channelled by family role ...

vated by the thought of great or vague or schematic future benefits however since the family is central to all planning

and since t extends into the future Greeks try to see to it that there are means for the education of the son or the dowry of the daughter or for an added field or a gold ornament for the wife They have no faith in the future and know that it will not take care of itself So as a rule they buy only what they can pay for now and will not expand either business or standard of living on the basis of future profits.

Greeks go in debt for subsistence and what they consider necessities They do not like to borrow for luxuries or for the creation of wealth If they have enough for necessities then any rise in income is sheer surplus It does not have to go towards relieving the strain on the budget, or to pay a dreaded instalment on a rad o and, as a rule it does not raise the standard of living The Greek likes his life he does not see why he should give up his lunch of cheese and bread, or his delicious *ommatiasta* (stews) just because now he can afford roast lamb every day Such things belong to festive occas ons The surplus will be put back into the business, or saved intact for the family or given in beneficence

The wealthy Greek of good family that is who has been properly brought up is not d stinguished by luxurious living since lux ry is soft and ostentatious He is distinguished by his gifts to his country or village by the battleship or stad um that bears his name the village fountain or health centre which he established for his district. Large sums of money are sent annually to Greece by its emigr ted sons for these purposes as well as for the support or education or dowering of relatives by people whose wives do the r own housework. Greece has counted on these s ms as an important source of income and the economy of Greece now suffers from the effects of restricted em grati n since American born Greeks lose contact with their parents country and fewer such sums are now being sent back

THE FAMILY UNIT AND ITS EXTENSIONS

I do not envy thers f th ir vi y d and th ir gardens,
I envy only those wh stay in on plac
And most I nvy those wh h b th rs and first ousins
To gr w th th m and rejo ce w th them
And to h lp ea h th when anyth g befalls.
(Cretan f lk-song)

Greek society starts with the family and is patterned on it. It extends outw d fr m it A child is born into a group and rema ns p rt f th group through no eff rt of is own, through no attempt to please Work and play eating conversation celeb ti n a ll in term of this unit, and are the way in which bel g nɑness is tak n on and reaffirmed Wider con tacts c me thr gh th family and its extens ons A child s friends ar the family friends and their child en, and the

relatives He goes visiting and to social gatherings with the family by day or by night though pediatricians protest against the latter practice He goes to church with the family attending the regular liturgy not a Sunday school for children. Even when great religious ceremonial occasions come late at night such as the Mass of the Epitaph on Good Friday night, and the Mass of the Rising of Christ at midnight the children are present Except where foreign customs have been taken over a Greek child does not celebrate his birthday What is celebrated is the day of the saint after whom the child is named and it is his family who celebrate Old and young come to congratulate the family and to wish that it shall enjoy the child for many years The family containing the child is the focus not the child himself

The Greek family is family-oriented It makes room for the child and the mother expects to spend much time nursing the child expects her cooking to be slowed down because of the constant presence and participation of the child On the other hand the child is not the focus and the rhythm of activities does not change with the coming of the child. There are no special meal times for the child neither are the family meal ... needs If the father leave ... the child s name day it is ... The child in the family is ... but he is important since he is accorded a definite place within the structured family

In a Greek family the members spend much time together The children learn to enjoy being with the adults and to listen to their conversation which is not trimmed down to meet the children s interests In the village a house often consists of only one room so there is no physical privacy and even when there are more rooms for summer living the winter room is one And shared living is prized There is no craving for aloneness although aloneness is accepted without complaint when necessary as a hardship to be borne with fortitude Sisters like to share a room and even a bed mothers like to work with their daughters whom they do not consider to be underfoot It is not contrary to peasant ethics for children of mixed sex to share sleeping quarters Family matters are discussed by all and children over 10 often have a voice in important decisions such as the buying or selling of a field

Greeks value freedom and self-dependence but the unit of self-dependence is not the individual but the family The family is an organic whole a system of delicately balanced ... Old ... s are responsible for ... reek never ceases to ... or daughter cannot ... nancial scale while

the parents thrive financially A married son asks his father for help in business without losing *philot mo* or becoming dependent in character A daughter asks for the things she cannot afford to buy This is not dependence it is one s rightful pl ce within a structured, balanced whole There is no virtue in being self-dependent in relation to one s family But the family must be self-dependent in relation to the world, except in so far as it has a claim on government aid.

Equal ty within the family is a matter of personal essence not of fairness of apportionment. An uneducated older brother is proud without bitterness of the younger brother whom he helped make a doctor The family may impoverish itself for the education or dowering of one of the children, and the successful life of these children brings honour to the whole family It is not uncommon to find that a man has remained unmarried so as to support his widowed sister and her family or in o der to earn a dowry for a large number of sisters The need for obtaining these dowries was one of the main incentives for emigration to the United States The responsibility for younger relatives is also at the base of the apportionment of positions and appointments of people who are not fitted by training or deserving by merit. A man who has been educated by older brothers who have stayed in the village w rking in the fields and vineyards, and who now holds a high governm nt position owes t to his family and to his role within it to find positions for h s nephews. If he does not, he fails his family he does not uphold the family *philotimo* he is not a good Greek.

On the other hand, a father does try to see to it that he gi es some property to ev ry child to son for farming to daughters for a dowry This at the base of much of the agricultural difficulty facing Greece t p esent since fields have been divid d often into strips measuring a fraction of an acre and r quire consolidation before effective use of mechanized farm impl ments can be made as w ll as for contour farming and effic ent fertilization.

We mo ed to Ath ns as a family said an islander "my mother her si ter and brothers my grandfather ll the family The Greek family is extensive and in e ch case the term must be examined to find out what it includes Second and third cousin ar often in contact, and responsibil ty is f lt fo them al They f rm links in the chain of relation hip so th t p sonal cont ct can be initiated. If a boy goes to Ath ns t tt d the uni ers ty if he has no uncles or other relati e b ents a room A Greek giving news usually speaks of "w and th tock phrase beginning a letter is add s ed to the pl al "you nd refers to "we

Th f ther is n uthority and he must be obeyed by all. A m the m ed by the children except when the

oldest son has assumed the headship of the family Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings In con servative groups a son whatever his age has to be circum spect in the presence of his father he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern and a considerate

haps to the priest This is a matter of role and loyalty it is not subservience Greek women by tradition wait upon men *expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross* the bridge ahead of them this does not make for inferiority just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first or to bring her water The mother is

hilo-

is no

spect

for her If her husband rides the only donkey which she brought as dowry while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so In the folk songs girls are jealous of their rivals because they can wait on the man they love this is the coveted role

The *relatives by marriage the sympetherica are* also important in the Greek relationship group and the older brother in law often functions as an older brother The whole family is therefore concerned with the marital arrangements of the individual Arranged marriages with great stress on the dowry were the rule until recent years and are still common The dowry persists even when the marriage is individually ar ranged and often interferes with higher education for the girls money is spent for the sons education but must be saved for the daughters dowry Whether the dowry is de manded or not by the groom s family it is to the honour of the bride s family to give it In conservative areas and circles, *girls still meet* young men only in groups still communicate with them only with their eyes or in secret correspondence and secret meetings however there is increasing freedom in the lives of young people particularly in Athens Yet here too the web of relationships and extended responsibility is so wide spread that the family in effect has its eyes on the young people wherever they go

MATERNAL AND CHILD CARE

The Greeks love children Boys are generally preferred tra ditionally sons are a sign of family vigour Besides a family not only loses its daughters it has to pay out property with them Childlessness is a terrible calamity and the woman is

held respons ble. People say "the poor man," pitying the husband for his wife s sterility A recent magazine report on current scientific discoveries combats this belief telling its readers that potent men have been found to be sterile and that therefore wives are not always at fault for the childlessness of the family Women fear to have anything done to their reproductive organs and will accept maternity difficulties w thout asking for medical help lest this might somehow harm their fertility A book on maternal and child care *For the* s hat before marriage, both family histories be

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According to this manual, a young w man beginning a pregnancy is expected to notice first an indispos tion, accom panied by the non appearance of the mense this the husband diagnoses for her with great joy Ne t come the food whims d th s is the time to go for obstetrical

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weeks In the last two we ks he h uld avoid all exertion. She should sleep e ght to ten h ur daily during her pregnancy neve more lest sh become li tless and melancholy She should a o d large social gatherings she should not play cards sh should drink nothing stronger than light wine she should e t meal as balanced a is consistent with her means and he n rmal diet. Her relati es should see to it that her d ys are calm and happy and that she is surrounded by p ctures of beautiful scen ry and beautiful people so that her b b w ll be be utiful

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d elon

... that his neighbour has been pregnant almost steadily for four years and that her pregnancies are too great a drain on his purse the judge advises him to move to another location The case is unusual but not far fetched

There are prenatal clinics as well baby clinics maintained by the state in the cities and provincial centres. Mid wives are trained in a state institution and work in close cooperation with obstetricians In many villages however there are no trained midwives available and there is recourse to the wise woman The manual *For the Mother* gives a list of things to be prepared for a home birth but many women in the cities when they can afford it prefer an obstetrician and a hospital delivery

ornaments
period is e
ridden for e
first 40 day
over and then she goes first to church In some areas no one is allowed to enter the house after sunset until the 40 days are over

Greek babies are swaddled except in very rare cases where a completely foreign manner of upbringing is followed The newest manuals suggest half-swaddling for the three months that is swaddling only of the trunk of the body with legs and arms free But this much is at any rate considered es

... In the village the old swaddling is practised for the most part along with the newer ways Traditionally the baby is swaddled all over until it is

imperative to make the baby grow straight tall and strong most of all to prevent it from becoming crooked

As we have mentioned traditional and scientific opinion

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is extrem ly rare for a mother to ha e ... k, tly
less rare that she have not enough milk. The city pediatricians
find it necessary however to make impass oned pleas for the
mother s own milk, pointing out the dangers incurred in en
gaging a wet urse the criminality towards one s own baby
h mother s m lk and the crime

feeding schedule falls in with the training of fortitude and is introduced in the name of self discipline as well as for giving the mother freedom that is leisure and freedom from en croachment Few mothers however fall in with these sched ules

Toilet training is not mentioned in the two current manuals on child care Mothers report that they begin training for urination at five or six months Training for the bowel move- ment does not come until the child can sit by himself Help in learning how to speak is suggested and described at length but none for walking Greek mothers do encourage their children to walk however and a folk rhyme says that a baby lest it be shamed takes to the wall and walks at seven months The manuals devote much space to character train ing obedience is taught first almost from birth it is the parents task to mould the character of the child, to be firm and unyielding Mothers are urged not to be indulgent or over protective

The manuals devote about a third of their space to illness and home care Under illness are listed sleeplessness enuresis thumb-sucking night terror lack of appetite Enuresis is said to come from irritation of the urethra thumb-sucking to begin around the fifth month from irritation of the gums

In recent years mothers have been urged to spend more time with their babies and to do more things for them Among the urban well to-do this means that mothers are urged to bathe feed and suckle their babies themselves For other groups this would mean a displacement the children are usually with the mother working with her and sharing ex perience with her but to give them her undivided attention she would have to change basic attitudes the accepted place of the child within the family and his assumed share in all its functions and she must reorient the entire system of roles within the family

The mother apparently takes no delight in the naked baby in touching its skin or watching its movements when f eed from the swaddl lo T
adult is never t
sion of delight
in any part of t
flowers herbs and trees but most of all she tell
little angel my little bird my little love she uses no terms

derived from the sense of taste unless she is a refugee from the interior of Turkey On the other hand, she will say "That

ame its parents.
child Bravo
or Bad child,
you have shamed me A chilu s a c d as *my* good one but when naughty merely as bad one In fact, children usually learn early to behave in the presence of visitors They
mothers praise them in their pres-
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E ry b by s b pti ed as early as poss ble u til baptism
l dra o t h s n n me N m ng

When a new baby is expected the mother may tell the knee baby[1] that he is to have a little sibling or she may simply wait until the birth and explain that the midwife brought the sibling The knee baby is openly expected to be jealous and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so When he sees the mother suckling the new baby he may cry for suck too in this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side or offer him a piece of bread or if she knows him to be jealous or sickly she may invite him on her own initiative Such jealousy apparently does not last long The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness he does not find this condition changed The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby to share herself equally with fairness Instead she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work and he shares in this also Gradually he takes on her attitude the cherishing loving responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece

There is a magazine addressed to parents now in its fourth year but Greek newspapers carry no child-care sections either on week days or Sundays Of the magazines only those catering to non intellectuals such as *Romanza* carry child and maternal care information the articles are usually translations from foreign articles The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby

EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece and above all professional education The doctor the lawyer the engineer and the specialist have high standing and command large dowries A university professor has high standing a school teacher has the respect of the people but has lost some of the standing which he had before education became centralized The printed word is very important even revered It is traditionally so the calends of Saint Basil sung on the night of 31 December represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and an ink well The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education the baby girl an educated bridegroom In a folk-song a girl rejecting a suitor says she will marry only an educated man.

There has been universal compulsory education up to the

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in part to the fact that mon y for girls goes into dowry rather than for furth r schooling Not all the older peasants attended school as children or attended it for more th n three or four years and often what liter cy they did have was lost in the course of time because they had no opportunity to use it. There are no libraries in the villages or in most of the ... Th re also no pattern of reading the ... r lands. ... Greek ... do read ... ey have ... national ... lerstood, ... ity The ... se where ... uss on of ... another

passe g as the map of Spain upon whi h to ollow the manoe vres of the two armi s The incide t is amusing but not surprising to Greek readers A book on n trit on urges housewi es to pattern their planning on the principles of the ... monarchy assuming

... high ... their ... resup- ... lumes ... works ... There ... gazines caterı g to l te ary tastes add ess u to ... people. Magazines carry rep rts f n w cientifi dev lopm ts thro gh t th w ld and number of educational rt cles Those dd essed to the *cosm kis* the mple peopl carry rticle on hild nd m ternal c e ha e cooking and sew ng hints w ll as col mns f p rso l ad ce Th newspapers maint in a high lit ary nd s hol ly st dard

RELIGION

R ligio nd th Chur h a alm t synonymous for the G eks nd th Gr k Orthodox r l g e tirely synony mous w th G kn ss Wh n the G e k ys Is he a Chris-tian?" h m I h G k?' Th G eek Ch rch is the main f ct n Gre k co tinuity among em grants nowa days. Through ut the past centuries the Church has main tain d Gr k cons us ss in m ny communities in Asia Minor wh th pe pl poke T rki h as a moth r t ngue and foll wed Tu kish customs. Th few Prot tant G eeks oc

cupy an ambiguous position and find it difficult to explain that they are really Greek since they do not conform to the tradition of Greekness

Epiphany the sea is made holy for those who journey on it. In the country blessed water is carried from the Epiphany Mass to sprinkle on the fields The Virgin and the Saints are invoked, but not mainly as correctives their main function is to endow an undertaking with good and success it is not primarily to prevent or correct. When a loved man husband son brother father beloved goes away with the merchant marine or in the sponge fishery a woman makes a vow to the appropriate Saint to be fulfilled on the safe return The islands are studded with small chapels which were promised on such occasions However priests are called in and Saints and the Virgin invoked also when difficulties arise Vows are made for the recovery of a loved one the priest is called when the family has

monials however draw the entire family The ritual is not bolstered by strict limits of time or rules of silence Mass starts in due course a little early or a little late not on the dot of an appointed time Children run in and out between the aisles and mothers whisper endearments to babies A woman will break into a dirge during the Good Friday Mass of the Epitaph mourning the death of Christ or addressing herself in sympathy to the bereaved Virgin The Mass before the mid night precedin
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of the renewed miracle the candles lighted from the sacred light at this time are carried home with true concern for saving the flame from extinction

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HEALTH

The stock phra e fo beginning a Greek letter is "We have
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Th d n t g f r a ge r l he k up although

ll ess s rec b u pp opri t Sa nt moth may vow a foot
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pilgrim g o 40 daily b sances r period of time or

the gilding of the hands of an ikon Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells and can be counteracted by magical practices

The tuberculosis division of the UNRRA mission to Greece reports the impression that there was only half the amount of tuberculosis in the provinces as compared to the cities and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally

Doctors are very highly respected There have been women doctors in Greece as well as women dentists for many years but the village image of the doctor is one of a man However a woman is much freer to discuss gynaecological difficulties with a woman physician There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use The acceptance of the *metrica* the maternity difficulties may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled blind lame means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity because it makes a person incomplete Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent Greeks were bewild red by n UNRRA

Malaria the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance and which decreased production by sapping the energy is now almost completely defeated by

situation has been ag ravated through the war in 1948 it was reported that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

Th Greek meal is a family r tual It is a soc al occas on a have to be enhanced peci l t ble arrange- ted l ghtly Everyone and s ts at the table down to the smallest chil thro gh ut th me l Everyone cross s himself at the begin ning and the e d of the me l. A bles ing is called upon the meal, and absent members are remembered at this time To quarr l t th t ble would be like qu rrelling in Church. not the entire

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the gilding of the hands of an ikon Much illness arises from the evil eye or magic spells and can be counteracted by magi cal practices

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sponsibility Parents may discourage their daughter from mar rying a one armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one armed worker Not only was he in the wrong function but he could not fall into any known

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M alaria the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance and which decreased production by sapping the energy is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign In the beginning of the cam

texture Oatmeal is eaten by young children and invalids under one f its Am rican trade names Quaker Oats pronounced unrecognizably As v mi it is food for animals and the word is reminiscent of stench According to Dr Kats gra much fo e gn fruit is also imported, and this has led to a demand for perfection in the appearance of the Greek fruit eaten this means that the Greek fruit for the city is now picked unripe City people eat mostly white bread. In general city food which conforms in ext rnals more closely to the list of the nu tritionists ctually seems to be inferior to that of the provinces. And city health is reported to have been much below that of the p ovinces even at a time when the villages were suffering from the depri ations of the civil war

Lent does not affect nutrition significantly Where olive-oil is not all wed olives are wh re fish is not allowed fish roe is. In th provinces not much meat is eaten even before Lent in the cities many of the people fast only on a few of the im portant days of Lent. Howeve now that mothers have been taught the import nce of giving th ir ch ldren daily milk Lent does hav an eff ct in this a ea milk is forbidden during Lent and children ha e to fast at least during the latter part. Un cef has made successful efforts to persuade mothers to gi e their child en milk during this period It achieved this with the co-ope ation f bishops who drank milk d ring Lent to show moth rs th t if the cause was good t was not a sin to drink milk only o e ar himandrite r fused to do so afr id to take on the respons bility of poss bly l ading th people astray

Greek hol days each have the r ppropriate food It is es-sential fo the welf re th l gion, for the Greekness of the people to ha e this food at that time At a time when the Bureau of Welfar was t up to funct on only during emer gency it offe ed f nds for the ind g t at hol days for the pur chase of the indispens ble fest e foods If G eeks ha e any money to p nd t su h a time these foods have a priority over everything el

ATTITUDES UNDERLYING ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE

Gre k do not place l e n unl m ted progress what they want s th b tte than the p esent r th n the known Modern Greek ha lost th s pe l t of ancient G eek To express *th b t* one now y *th b tt f all th oth rs* And this ex p es es wh t ctually wanted Th American says "the sky s th l m t b t th G ek wants to re ch th ceiling in t ad som thin th t h an t ch and know ahead of time Th est is a dre m h pecul tes about t a he specul tes about what h w ld d f h w e P es d t of the Un t d States and he u s the bj cti not th futur

In th w y th att tude towa d chanee is related to the pl ce

eat? Isn t food good? If they do not like the egpl t d h

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ood w hout bread In the villages the bread is brown and home baked and it ma
for dipping If there is
containing a variety o
balanced eating through the day The hot bean dish (*fas oulada*) for example contains olive-oil parsley onions toma toes and other vegetables and eaten with brown bread and perhaps olives and cheese provides a complete nutritive meal except that the proteins are not animal ones and the writer finds it fit for a king The Greek meal is not structured climacti cally It may end with fruit or a leaf of lettuce or cheese this however is nothing to look forward to but at most puts a
oint
rich

in the provinces very little meat is eaten Through the week it is served if at all as a small ingredient part of one of the special vegetable dishes—dishes which are named after the main vegetable they contain On Sundays or when guests ar rive or on other festive occasions there may be roast and potatoes these are baked together and constitute the whole me
wh villages
canned
alad is
gre it Milk
is

valued or demanded the simple meals are much enjoyed and wealthy emigrants who have succumbed to the luxuries of the

the peasants raise cattle Foreign packaged goods are in vogue in the cities and people in their desire to take on American ways eat foods which are contrary to all Greek principles of

countrymen putting up with the same d fficulties the same time-wasting operat ons the same discomforts but when they ask, "Why don t you do something about it?" they are imme diately branded American. Anything that still works can always be p tched up and used a chipped dish can still hold food a suit may have a few spots and still be ha e a number f travel when capacity and have paid wh the e are not e ppo tives and one learns to cope with the common ailments the common inconveniences So the man whose task it is to introduce change often has to point out the mote to which the peasant s eye has become accus tomed, and even has to take in consideration the fact that the eye is actually adjusted to the mote and that its removal would m an t least temporary disruption.

There is another side to the picture with respect to coping Greeks re t nacious and resourceful in making the best of what they do have A vis tor reports that a gasoline tank that sprang a l k on the road was repaired w th l k sticky Near Eastern cand pushing freight ca been destroyed in harnessed p oducti a sense of e joyme ievement from t people who derive

The sanction of the Church in inaugurating any ch nge is essential and so too is that of the past, in endors ng p actice as well as a p ecede t for the introduction of change It is well to member that Byzantium and ts civilization was part of the G eek past and to r membe th t R me was not. The Rom ns wer barbarians the manual on child care which urges moth rs to kle th ir bab es lik Penelope and the Trojan Hecuba also u ges them to giv up the custom of swaddling the child limb barbarous d tyrannical custom practised by the anc nt Romans Th past s m ntioned in learned articles in newsp pers in letters in the at rical con rsation. It is part of the festi e dr ssing f th naked statement.

The are of vulnerability of the Greek *ph lot mo* must be remembe d in all s ggestio of hange as well as the pattern of relationships within whi h dependency is good and taken for grant d. G e ks ar ready to be treated as sons or nephews or younge b others within th balanced syst m of interdepend ency and th United St tes Econom c Cooperation Admini stratio (ECA) wh h has been giving welcome aid to Greece just now s fte pok n of as Uncle Truman after the Presi d nt of the Un ted St tes but it would be an insult to treat them as poo rel t ons who a e d pe dent through personal failur Again, to be treated mechanistically impersonally is

of the plan in Greek life On the one hand that which is a plan to an American organizing and inciting to action is a dream to the Greek leading to quiescence or to oratory The Greek mother of an American adolescent is shocked to hear her daughter express as plans in the future tense what she herself expressed in the subjunctive of the dream Plans introducing agricultural and other change are formulated by foreign or foreign trained technicians who say When I get to be I shall do for people who say If I were I would do there is a chasm between these two views of life

On the other hand the plan based on the non-experienced on abstract calculation is meaningless to people for whom experience is body patterned More than this such plans repre-

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ing a ong a known trail repeating a known pattern with all its steps For example when a girl is 10 or 12 she may start working on her dowry a good mother may start weaving for her daughter soon after birth But this is to follow the Greek pattern of life to behave as girls and mothers are supposed to behave In the same way a farmer has foresight according to occasions he expects to arise within a known situation The planning is internal arising from the rhythm of life it is not something external to which the rhythm must be forced to conform

This attitude presents difficulties such as for example in industrialization in the area of food processing Greek farmers will not deliver food for canning according to plan or schedule they will use what they need and deliver the surplus But factories and exporting houses cannot readily function without

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clear obvious results Much of the success of new practices
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One of the Greek attitudes deeply imbedded in their social structure is taken up here at greater length since it is basic to many of the proposed changes this is the phrasing of co-oper ti e undertakings.

The suggestions for changes in agriculture industrial developments for the introduct on of san tary measures demand co-operation and participation by the people concerned in bringing about these changes The conception of co-opera tion as de eloped in the urban scientific cultures of Europe and North America is not usual in the rest of the world This conception involves a collective working toward an im personal abstract end the joining of a group created with a view toward a future end and the ability to trust the other members of such a group to act accord ng to abstract, impersonal honesty as, for example to act believing that the statistics others present are objectively sound and are not coloured by personal cons derations

The traditional Greek pattern however is that individuals wo k not collectively but within n intricate web of interde pendencies and mutual aid. The abstract end, unless it is part of th immedi te concrete s tuation and unless it is imple m nt d in terms of persons is m aningless what is meaning ful, for example is for the family group to work together toward the continued education o the dow ri

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within these u ... they do not lose their m mbership C ... u tu y tort t their Greekness in some way perhap turn traito o change their religion do they run the risk of being dis wned Thes are the units of co-operation but they are rooted in th past, not created. Th re is no Greek equival t of the w d gro p so common in th speech of Americans wo ds such as *omas* (mass) and *mate on* (body) are used te hnically to apply to organizations In school, the class becom group only in its oppos tion to the enemy the teacher i playing ruel trick involv ing co-operation other wise wh t w find even in this oppos t on is cheating fo the sak of a w ak tudent, o upport of one student by another The e are ind vidual fri ndships he e individual evocations of

offensive there is resentment at the fact that some of the foreign experts stay at hotels catering to foreigners associate only with Greeks who follow foreign ways and treat the rest of the people like figures on a chart.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the Greeks have a deep attachment to their way of life however much in need of change it may be in terms of more recent scientific and economic developments There are reports that in the provinces people who can afford to pipe water to their houses will not do so because they do not want to deprive their women of the social visit at the fountain and of the walk back and forth. There are communities that decide not to have electricity not to build a hotel to accommodate the tourists who are attracted by the beauty of the place so that they can retain the ways they like time-consuming as they are

The framework of experience and the structuring of the thinking processes must also be known before change is acceptably suggested at any rate it must not be taken for granted that these are the same for the Greeks as they are for foreign experts For example a child care specialist in the United States is inveighing against the prevalence of bottle feeding when she urges mothers to suckle their babies but to the Greeks she is naturally inveighing against engaging a wet nurse

It is helpful also to know what can be discussed publicly and printed in the newspaper without offence The government calls artificial insemination artificial reproduction An attempt by the writer to elicit information on the subject under the term insemination from recently and previously emigrated Greeks met with failure since the women (coming from sections other than Athens and Salonika) had not heard of the programme and were hesitant to mention it to their husbands they obviously felt that the investigator as a woman, could not approach the men with such questions

There is a recognized variety among Greeks and the differences are a matter of pride to them They do not want to be treated as if they were all the same There is also a difference in

around the place Different regions also vary [illegible] ance of the new the Greeks who came as refugees from the coastal areas of Asia Minor are as a whole more ready for the new they are more enterprising more ready to take a chance on the future

ants get f om the bank through their credit co-operatives, does not seem to have been set w th the welfare of the farmers in view o according to their decisio In 1936 more than 3 000 of the 3 761 were credit co-operatıv s under the central super vision of the state The others s ch as the producers co-opera t es, were mainly compulsory Such were the citrus growers associ tions in Crete the wine growers associat on in Samos Levkas Attica, and Chalkis There ar now marketing co-operative and ma hine-owning co-operati es as well as a growing number of p ocessing co-operat es In general, the co-operati es are firmly controlled by the central government and the f rm rs are not even allowed to co-operate to the ex tent of electing their own fficers As a result the attitude toward xternal authority has been evoked and in most cases co-op ation has to be compul ry as all government legisla tion has to be compulsory and the so-called co-operative de cisi ns are circumvent d like ll gov rnment decisions An oth r attitude has also been ev ked, particularly among those Greeks who welcomed th d ctatorsh p depri ed of responsi bl decision a d participat on thes p opl f ll into th pattern of accepted dependency such peopl unaware th t they are co-operating say "The gov rnment s taking good care of us. The government itself aware f th sh ftı g of respons bility and lack of part cipation, urges the people in its organ *Th B ttl f Surv al* to work f th ır own welfare and to turn to the state only for gu dance or when they can do no more f r them el es It tries to put th s co-operat on on a par with war both in th title of its b weekly publicat on and in the phrasing f ts dm nıtı n B t the disrupting centraliza tion, the h t d interfer mains Compulsory f e labour is demanded of th f rmers and there is a whole class of compulsory co-op rat ves fo the b tterment of the villages. These are circum ent d with the ingenu ty born of long ex peri nce Howe er w al h ve a ecent report of a village wh re every gets p when the church bell rings at f ur in the morning to w k, with ut compulsion on some village project with pride and thu asm The work is d le dersh p of a vill g r espect d edness It already for the c

ogether

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honesty The American Farm School at Salonika works hard at making students realize that they actually form a community at the school and at teaching them to co-operate within this framework and the school reports that eventually the students do learn the new co-operative pattern

Honesty exists and is expected and respected only where kinship and personal relations have been established on a basis of trust and respect for personal worth In American schools in the cities American teachers have managed to convince the students that they can trust them as friends and have thus changed the teacher student relationship into one of co-operation and honesty Foreign technical assistants have often lived in a world of their own in foreign circles and failing to establish personal relations have evoked mistrust and dishonesty Honesty toward fellow members in a created group can be achieved as the result of honesty and loyalty towards the leader of the group However it should not be taken for granted neither should the Greeks be charged with dishonesty Their framework of honesty is different from that known to the industrialized society of the United States and Western Europe

There is at present a paradoxical situation in Greece There is pride in the many co-operatives spread throughout the country there is delight on the part of some of the technical assistants because the groundwork for the introduction of necessary change is there And there is dismay on the part of others that the Greeks do not know what co-operation means that they have to be compelled to work for the benefit of the village to be prevented from destroying its resources and to be coerced to co-operate even in efforts for their own welfare There is distress over the number of pressure groups created to get whatever they can from the government All this is true According to their own phrasing of co-operation and within the framework of the meaningful units the Greeks were and to some extent are now compl
villages were responsi
peasant would impov
improve the water sys
carried them out they chose their own leaders The first co-operatives were started on local initiative in the last century But later the central government began to institute co-operatives on a foreign pattern taking no account of the existing units of co-operation or of the existing patterns of self participation The villages were not allowed a responsible role in creating the co-operatives—in fact in co-operating The state-financed Agricultural Bank has been in charge of creating local credit co-operatives but the peasants have felt that this was a government affair Actually the rate which was 8 per cent at the time of the establishment of the bank in 1928 and is now as high as 18 per cent with incidental fees which peas

future with new tools instead of taking his place in the security of a pre-established p ttern based on human relationships has already been introduced

k ch of the broad outlines of the Tiv ... ted

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RELIGION AND PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

Basic to the very existence of the Tiv to the r p rsonal devel opment, their human relati nships their griculture was their assumption of continuity between an ind vidual and his kin ship gro p and between man and nature—the land the ani mals, the no human forces This aspect of the r culture we shall call the religious dim ns on of th ir life or more briefly their religio It hould be understood howe r that it was an ever-present asp ct of th ir ev ryd y acti ties of the inter p etatio of all exp rie ce and beh iour

Th w re two systems of rel gi u rites bas cally different and compl mentary On had the funct on of tapp g and internalizing the potency existi g outs d the ind idual in soc ty and n ture Thi personal potency was kn wn as *t av* and people e gaged in acti ties whi h enha c d the r per sonal pote cy wer known as *mb t a* Such peopl w th strong *tsav* w re bl to wi ld infl ence o er those w th lesser *tsav* ... mnty-ch sted th people with no ... for es and ... e and cre- ... of natural ... rm l make

and C N Kokkolatos 1947 B J Marketos 1945 J B McDougall 1947-48 He [illegible] 1914 D Psatha 1937 [illegible] Smothers William Hard [illegible] McNeill 1948 C S [illegible] Athena Tarsoule 1947 [illegible] 1944

THE TIV OF NIGERIA

The Tiv are an African tribe in southern Nigeria who farm the rolling savannah country to the south of the Benue River and a strip along the northern bank They are under British administration They offered effective resistance to British occupation over a long period not through organized resistance but through their ver [illegible] has a strong sense of [illegible] descent from a single [illegible] political unity so tha [illegible] lion the largest unit under a single authority numbers not [illegible] aling with the [illegible] The tribe was [illegible]

units such as in delegating authority to a young man who had not earned the right to exercise it and these mistakes did much harm before they were corrected

Little technical change has been effected among the Tiv However a shattering social change was introduced through an edict forbidding exchange marriage This more than any thing else gave the younger generation the opportunity and the ability to question traditional ways authority of the elders, the kinship interrelationships and in general the very foundations of the culture So though technical change itself was not directly introduced the mental attitude which makes such change acceptable which allows an individual to carve his own

The so[illegible] th[illegible] st[illegible]dy [illegible] al [illegible] f B[illegible] dministrati[illegible] N[illegible]g [illegible] by B[illegible] soc[illegible]ty by m[illegible]mbe[illegible] [illegible] this [illegible] by [illegible]

P ham up

covered e dence of actual physical killings on these occa sions.) — w concerned with the *akombo* —f re with ndition hildren se from was due life To xpel the) be per formed v They did not add to ough come 1only ous or aboos ar-cut, ne rites pplied

periods ey we e and at was cir rilization ing or n as falling

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E t, op pp 178 79
Ib d p 30
Ib d 180
Ib d p 31
Ibid. pp. 208 9

accused of inflicting the death Clearing oneself of a flesh-debt meant plunging others into a flesh debt and increasing one s *tsav* meant further sharing of human flesh and the incurring of further flesh-debts So an elder in a family group was held in high esteem and feared partly because his strong and mature personality engendered respect partly because he could at any time use his *tsav* destructively to punish or avenge a wrong and partly also because the stronger his *tsav* the more flesh-debts he had to pay off and therefore the stronger the menace he offered to the life of his younger kinsmen

Tsav however ~
sonal potency acq
the common poter
concentrated and incorporated in varying degrees mainly in its male members for the benefit of the group Antisocial *mbatsav* could and did use their potency for their own pur poses and destructively but ideally they held their *tsav* in trust for the benefit of the group If the land and the women were to remain vital and fertile *tsav* was indispensable to the group and had to be implemented through the organic medium of individual persons as representative of the ancestors as well as of the group of the living and the dreaded flesh-debt was actually the mechanism for increasing the usable *tsav* of the group

The main communal function of the *mbatsav* was to per form the rites of revitalizing the land. Each patrilineal kin dred and within this each patrilineal family owned a sacred

unit with it was bound the fertility of the land and of the women of the unit It had to be revitalized annually and peri odically in between with fresh human blood in recent years, the blood of an induced abortion was used The shedding of blood was actually a part of the other religious system the *akombo* but for these rites of the ancestral pipes men strong in *tsav* were needed and they maintained their *tsav* through

The Tiv were not organized pol tically they governed them sel es acc d g to an already present kinship The largest unit unde a single auth rity was that which has been call d a kin dred. This was a group of f ur or five extended families trac ing their descent fr m a common ancestor The elders of these p tril l f m l es co stituted the kindred council at its head

Ib d pp

m p cit pp 156 59

The *akombo* and *tsav* systems met in the ritual of the ancestral pipes These were actually *akombo* pipes inherited within the patrilineal kinship unit but the rights were performed by the *mbatsav* For the performance of these and equally great *akombo* it was necessary for a man to be very strong in *tsav* personal potency had to be commensurable w h l

disapproval of the men with stronger *tsav* who might thereupon destroy him

Both *t* ... nd ...

witchcraft The men strongest in *tsav* and highest in the *akombo* scale were naturally the senior elders. And herein lay the sanction and the source for their authority The leader of the kindred knew the rites of all the *akombo* of the families constituting the kindred h ... h
mbatsav societies
acquired the know
Through this he d
council of elders ... ause of this the welfare of the land and of the group was vested in him so that if he failed in any respect if he did not maintain and refresh his strength he spoiled the land

A grasp of these religious systems is essential to understand

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Ibid. p 19

m mbership in the group and a right to the great *akombo* he
as d pendent eventually on his father to supply him w th a
da hter to be g ve in excha ge for a w f He could ach eve
soci l tu e only thr ugh initiation int the group cults he
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flesh-debts This fear and susp c on found exp ess on in the
great crises of lif when the ind vid al was vulnerable Dur
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at f r bl a man strong in *tsav* because the father might

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E chang m rri g was th nly valid marri ge am ng the
Tiv d nl th w f cqui d in true exch ge had h gh

1 Ea p it p 400

a group of close relatives whose common ancestor was still living or well remembered if dead They usually consisted of an old man with his wives and their immature children his sons and th
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council was said to own the land the women and the children for whose welfare and f rt l ty h
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each of their wives as th
bered in the h
many as 2 000
rights to comr
same animal killed for the *akombo* purging The affairs of each were the affairs of the group They shared in the work they ate of the special dish prepared by the wife of one and drank of the beer brewed by the wife of another At night they sat around a common fire while the women spun cotton and the children exchanged riddles until some older man began to tell myths The Tiv referred to this group as that which ate the same *akombo*

Within the *akombo* there were often a number of smaller lineages—those consisting of a man his wives and his married or marriageable children This sometimes was coextensive with the *akombo* group sometimes more limited in numbers It was known as the group which ate the same *ingol* that is the group which had common rights in the women born into it—the *ingol* or wards—who could be exchanged with members of other groups to procure wives The group was bound in a web of interdependencies and interrelationships leading to and resulting from exchange marriage which will be described below Within it a man thought of himself and acted not as an individual but as a member of the group Everything he

Roger Meaden D wnes 1933 p 53

those of his i gol Children were valued as *ingol* if girls as desce dants to perform ancestral rites if boys and merely as offspring they were val ed in themselves

Exchange marriage meant that the younger men had to wait ... m rry It also meant that they could

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the p eferred form and went counter to cultural p ter ... giving ind vid l freedom of in ti t ve and cho e

Anoth r sol tion was for a young unmarri d man to buy sexual rights in a w man f the same group The girl was usually distantly rel ted and the rel ti nsh p was known as sister marriage Such un ons were temp rary and the children

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spring of an exchang m rri g After m rri g a iiv a ed wisdom and tatu only th gh p ogress e in t ation in the *akomb* of his gr up unt l h re ched the h ghest of these

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equivalen as p rson Ther w re unmarri d brothers who

through exchange marriage could a woman assume this posi

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family was regarded by the Tiv as an *ingol* group as the group which shared the wards and could divide them among them selves for the acquisition of wives

A man gave his daughters as *ingol* to his sons to get them wives however after he had provided two sons with wives, his immediate duty to his children was usually over and he could use the rest of his daughters to get more wives for him self Also there were cases where there were more *sons than* h others

own wives with daughters to b u ed as i

intricate and strong net of interdependence here creating strengthening and continuing the kinship which bound the group

The marriage arrangements were themselves an expression of the unity of the *ingol* group The elders of the two groups

sexual rights in the bride on the part of the group s expression of the vital concern of the group which was getting a substitute link in *the chain of continuity* and ensuring *the* validity and effectiveness of the *akombo* rites

far

uch

slighted husband might request one of more en them rom

ry When a first mother felt quickening she complained of the sensati ns and accepted proffered cures for them A wom an was expected to cry with her pain, and if a man quailed at pain he was called a girl. When child birth pangs set in, the woman groaned continually According to the Tiv writer

he presenting a man s limited knowl

if it continued for

was suspected and

The woman lay in bed while in l oo i When the child was about to be born the midwife was sent for She made the oman sit up straight and rubbed her stomach "to cause the ch.d to turn around and when the child was actually emerg ing, a boy was sent to get a fig leaf for the baby to fall on If th baby did not cry immedi tely cold water was thrown over it. The midwife cut and bound the umbilical cord bathed the child in hot wat r o tside and massaged the navel When the

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th n h ld it he d downward by the i t. ... the umbilical cord fell off that of a boy was buried und r a red pepper shrub so th t he should be fie ce brave and dange ous and that of a girl under a p wpaw or a fig o th t she should be gentle. The child wa not taken out until the na l cord h d dropped ff in about thr e days and no one could come visit

be poo an ...

pare ts

Child n w much enjoy d f the and mother as well as

E p cl p 293
Ib d pp 227 2
Ib d. 301
Ib d. 302
Ab h m op ci pp 150-151 East, p cit. p 302
Ab h m op ci p 152
Ib d, p

ily to the kindred it was discussed in council the wronged individuals aired their complaints and things were usually brought to a workable solution

T

age mates who went through the stages of boyhood development more or less contemporaneously A boy had to have his

of all perhaps was the j o-
t the dancers of one s own
to avenge the *tsav* death of
its members

BIRTH AND REARING OF CHILDREN

A Tiv married to get children The production of numerous children was the main function of life A man without chil
however successful he
oman however excel
was childless
ith closed body " She
husband took her to
her group for *akombo* rites as soon as her pregnancy was known and for more rites thereafter There was a series of
h ed h nom of v ne ding evil occa

Ib d p 40
Abrah m op cit. p 124 D wnes, op. cit, pp 24 26 F t, op it. p 45
F t p cit. p 312 Ab h m op t p 117
D wnes op cit. p 31 Ea t, op cit. p 315

ery When a first mother felt quickening she com the sensations and accept d n an was expected pain he was call woman groaned who is a man an edge labour usually lasted two days uug a man s lim ted knowl more than five days ak mbo interference was suspected and if it continued for th. d viner was called. iter

The woman lay in bed while in labour When the child was about to be born, the m dwife was sent for She made the woman s t up straight and rubbed her stomach to cause the child to turn around, and when the child was actu lly emerg ng a boy was sent to get a fig leaf for the baby to fall on If the baby did not cry immed ately cold water was thrown over it. The midwife cut and bound the umb lical cord bathed the child in hot water outside and massaged the navel When the afterbirth had emerged the mother went outside and bathed her vaginal region with hot water The afterbirth was buried by a boy at the left of the entrance And thereafter whenever a mother w shed her baby she d d so over the place where the placenta had b en buried. To cure the ch ld of dizziness and "fear" she threw t up two or three times after ts bath and then h ld t h d downward by th feet. When the umb lical cord fell off th t of a boy was buried unde a red pepper shrub so that he should be fierce brave and dangerous and that of a girl under a pawpaw o a fig o that she should be g ntle The ch ld wa not taken out until the na el cord had dropped ff in about three days and no one could come visit ing during this period

The new m ther bathed nd massaged he breasts w th hot wat r and rubb d th m w th camwood t b ing on m lk Until her milk came other women fed the b by In the beginning a baby ceived only milk d wate

A uckling baby lept between his p ents later he slept n xt to the wall bes d hi m th A woman was not allow d to ha int urs w th he h band until the baby walked but if he h d t begun to menstruate again she could have int rcourse b f b w ed the ch ld. But she should not becom p egnant wh l th h ld w s still nurs ng lest her m lk be poo and th hild be weak and bring disgra e to the parents

Child en we m h njoy d father and mother as well as

E
Ib d p p 298
Ib d p 22 29
Ibid 301
Ibid 302
Ab h m
Ab h m p ci pp 150 151 East op cit. p 302
Ibid p 152

other nurses took care of the very young The baby was en couraged by all to start walking and people remarked on his early steps He learned very early to swear to the pride of his mother who showed him off to everyone s amusement. He soon started to go about with other children and a boy soon learned to kill crickets hitting or trapping them At this point, he began to contribute to the family meal as crickets were a delicacy if there was no other meat available for dipping sauce the elder sent a boy to get a cricket, and shared it with his guests As he grew a little older a boy learned to shoot lizards with a sharpened raffia midrib When the boys were ready to start shooting birds their fathers made them bows that were easy to string and arrows tipped with sharpened cornstalks Although the boys were given freedom to roam

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and security rested

the fathers saw to it

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P n shment was mainly in retaliation rather than discip- [illegible] h [illegible] hind s son

[illegible]

sore eyes or a pain A parent which [illegible] curse him taking away his luck until the son could effectively petition for peace

THE STATUS OF WOMEN

[illegible] were highly prized as they were essential for the pro- [illegible] the Tiv are said to ha e *long as she was capable*

East, [illegible]
Ibid. p 344
Ibid p 244
Ibid p 246
Ibid. p 313

of bearing children and had a good character although now she has to be pretty and her child bearing ability is not important. Women were also prized for sexual reasons continence is a great hardship for the Tiv Women and food are the two things about which a Tiv will boast. Imprisonment and death itself are hard chiefly because a man leaves his women behind. Yet wi es were not well cared for unless they were sister substitutes acquired through exchange marriage Otherwise, they might be left to starve or go without clothes and be treated without respect or consideration Such wives could be mistreated with safety since being no blood kin they could not inflict *tsav* death the exchange wife however having assumed the kinship rank of the sister could do so

According to Western standards women were not equal to m n. If a murder was compounded instead of being avenged two women would be accepted by the unit in the place of the dead man. Women were owned by the men of their family and even after marriage when their "waist belonged to their husband s group their head still belonged to their owner's group but men were not owned And a man wh managed to seduce th chosen bride before the completion of the marriage while he was sleepi g in her hut, might refuse to marry her whereas he himself was n t blamed. Submitting to seduction meant that a woman had no trength of will If beer was sweet, t was rejected by men as the beer of women and children, as not being good be Women had no part in making their own marriage though actu lly they were formally questioned during the marri ge p oc di gs and they sometimes tried to kill themselves as the only way out of a dr ad d marriage.

Y t women d d ha e a h gh status Th y had complete control f the food-supply of the vill g their authority in domestic affairs was h dly ever q est oned they had their husband s spect and co-operat n when they had been h nou bly married th y usually accepted th r place as ex change wi es with the tructu l interdependence of the unit and ome we m mb f the *mb tsav* gro p

FOOD

Eating nd drinki g w h ghly social Most of the meals were s cial cas w th the f mily eating together along with oth rs of th group The arly morning meal m ght be a

Ibid. 112
Ibid 3 3 4
Ib d. p 313
Downes op p 74
East 115
Ib d 1 3
Ib d. 74
Ib d

solitary affair but even at daybreak feasts were sometimes given when a wife prepared a special dish of *shuma* beans to which guests gathered invited and uninvited Eating was a part of the exchange marriage proceedings a gift of a chicken was taken from one group to another and it was eaten by the group The flesh of sacrificial animals was shared by those members of the lineage who were initiated in that particular *akombo* A guest from another clan was always offered food

convivial occasions Beer figured in patterned festivals also

Eating was enjoyed, and there is no suggestion in the litera ture that there were any feeding problems for children There were general preferences Pork was the favourite meat but was taboo to most women There were special recipes for the large variety of greens seeds tubers and condiments which were a part of the diet

Certain regulations accompanied eating The guest followed a special etiquette *showing no undue eagerness for the food* and giving special portions of the chicken to the cook and the

pplied to the dipping

were warned against

id pepper sauce were

flung into their faces In this way the danger of sharing in a dish which might contain human flesh was brought home to them

Women were the cooks on ordinary occasions and they were considered to be the owners of the food On ceremonial occasions however as when a chicken was killed for a guest or in the case of an animal sacrificed in an *akombo* rite the men were the cooks

haps containing some kind of meat Fish and gam

birds and crickets were eaten when available Domestic ani m l were killed and eaten only incidentally their main func

eating the head of an ox

number of *akombo* ate meat during the frequent *akombo* rites boys foraged for themselves killing crickets lizards and

m at and in a number of groups eggs

cont tween t

body and the rest of nature This was the principle behind ceremonial cannibalism where the victim s potency became part of the eater And in pregnancy if a woman ate the flesh of a brave animal her child would become strong or if the animal eaten was timid, the timidity would be imparted to the child.

WORK AND CO-OPERATIVE PATTERNS

Tiv children mixed work and play from earliest years Little boys went about killing crickets lizards and birds learning to track, observe and hunt foraging for themselves and also bringing home some of this small game at the request of elders for their meal. But this was not work in the eyes of the Tiv Children ran many errands and had special sections of an undertaking allott d to them in house building agriculture and even at child birth On his own initiative a boy might bring wood for his father s meeting hut but otherwise the work that these children d d carried no responsibility for initiating or bringing to an end. Only when a boy made his own yam heap when he was quite grown, did he really start to wo k, according to Ti concepts.

For full grown men also the yam heap was the test of work, and when a man went beyo d this and thatched the yam heaps, then his wife knew that he loved her The rest of the farm work was often arduo but the Tiv spoke of it as part of the ordinary course of living Hard work and the ability to do it formed an aspect of the admi d personal ty particularly in women Wh n Akiga describes the woman who got up at break of dawn to bake and peel a yam for her hu band who spent the day bringing wood and water and pounding for the u m and working in the fields and who sat spinning at night by the firelight while her husband told tales he p nts a glowing pic tu e of the good wif Th so d of the pounding of the ruam was the sound of vill g life punctuating the fl w of time

The rdin ry day w s patt rned for th woman who spent it in dealing with he h u ew k and the seasonal work in the fi lds with vari ty coming from special occasions such as arrang me ts f r w dd gs kombo rit s the excitement of a d v nat on into t av death Festive days themselves had their own patt rn, in e they w re concern d with ritual activi t es A man d y was not patterned in this way but h s particula act t es were Each crop had ts own farm g pattern ea h type of hunt g ts equence of operations But the w k wh ch an dult was call d upon to do was form g kombo rites for u a man

co-

an isolated individual or in a group working together work was social in nature A woman worked to fill her husbands needs and to help him get wealthy by spinning cotton for him to weave into cloth for sale She also took care of his children for him A man cleared land for his wife built her a frame for a house and worked for her in a variety of other ways When boys caught small game for their own eating they were not working On the other hand even when a man worked at developing himself reaching the various stages of *akombo* or [illegible]

changes of recent years wrought havoc For example now [illegible]

Each operation had its own division of labour In house-building for example the man s role was set as well as the [illegible] [illegible] rafters [illegible] the interior And with the work concerning each crop the [illegible]

the workers In all this though the [illegible] areas of work and responsibility the children were help-

Ib d pp 53 56
Ib d pp 66 68
Ib d pp 69 70
Ib d pp 83 91

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MAN AND NATURE

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nal male progenitor was alive or at any rate vividly remembered Everyone who had come from this body whether an-

~ontinuous

There was

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which this had been grown, except when it was the food of foreigners What emerged from the body carried this contin uity Elders forced to travel away from 'the land carefully

with its placenta and for some time after birth was bathed over the spot where the placenta was buried and the water left in the vessel was then poured over the spot so that the body dirt could go towards refreshing the placenta A man estab-

basic to every aspect of Tiv living which was maintained by exchange marriage since only through taking the place of the sister—as continuous with the body of the parents—could a woman pass on unbroken continuity to the children of the

mouth and then spat out by way of washing away lurking resentments of litigants or unconscious ill thoughts and wishes which might bring pollution during a delivery for example However usually it was not necessary for the water to be in physical contact with the person to be ceremonially cleaned.

HEALTH

Health is treated here under a separate heading only because as a separate concept, it is important operationally to Western

Abraham, op cit pp 17 18
East p cit. p 303
Downes p t. pp 12 13
Ib d. p 63 East, op cit. pp 29 30-32 235

work rs. There was no such co cept among the Tiv apart from the natural ord r of things It was normal for people to ha e r ps to be attacked by only

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tsav was being used against him u p life, ot to h alth alon If nothing interfered all was well through ut all asp cts of living

Disease when prolong d or out f the ord nary was inter fere ce just as an influx of red m nkeys into a field was in erfer nce Ther f e most of the med c l pr ct ce were agricultural practi s as w ll. However ther were ord n ry ed t rnally or .om- ption m

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aseptic

E cept fo ts el gı u rath th s e t fi nterpr tat on, T m d l t was ry m ch l ke modern West rn

Ab h m p ci 84
Eas L p. 82

increase in *tsav* and they were performed for the whole [illegible] and its land A householder performed the rites which tected his own household against evil Apart from prevent there were the sterilization r[illegible] blood w[illegible]
ease wh[illegible]
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was dire[illegible]
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tio [illegible] putting up the proper shelter [illegible] patients had to buy instruc- the steps involved in running the hospital as well as to pay for paid for the sake of the patient since otherwise the cure would fail For the preventive rites performed at times when the in- dividual was particularly vulnerable because his blood shed there were additional rules An operation such as circum- cision for example was preferably [illegible] village since [illegible]
out for
particul
stayed i[illegible]
for the operation into the hut of a man of particul[illegible] was only because one could go *tsav* who could be trusted [illegible]
Th[illegible]
the
that
born
oper [illegible] had to be perfo[illegible] [illegible] by observat[illegible] Th[illegible]

[illegible] his arms but he could not cry out since [illegible] who sat behind

D wnes op c t. p 63
E st p c t p 31
Ib d pp 19 20 208 9
Ib d pp 357 61
Ib d pp 30 31 122
Ib d pp 208 9
Ib d p 27
Ib d p 43
Ib d p 33

he was a man and crying was only for girls If he was hesitant
p formed an age mate who had

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European hosp tals and med cal practices ran into difficulties when e or all of these rules we e overlooked and they were
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DEATH

Ib d. p 34
Ib d pp 27 29 37 41
Ib d. p 352
Ib d 353
D wnes p cit. p 41

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and fertility Fo th gr t t *komb* th blood of a hum n
vict m w qu d nd th was m t me the blood of an
aborti indu ed through *t av* th rwis chicken goats
ram were kill d S cr fi l blood was al o used at a marriage
t hed n th th esh ld f th brid gr om s hous before
h t d t

Blood wa us d to em nt a new relati n hip When two
cl m d p ct old m n f m e ch clan h d blood from
th ut h nd onto grind ton m ed thi with oth r in
gr d nt nd t t (B wh ch a sociated with blood in
th nt w drunk ritu lly by group)

Th blood of m truati g wom n was dang rous to
m hunt g k mb It was be t for a men truating woman

Ib d p 2
Ib d pp 2 49
I d p 44-49
Ib d.

there was grief All such death came through the *mbatsav* except for very young babies since all others had some *tsav* which helped them to withstand *akombo* interference until this could be recognized and expelled And no death could come unless the *mbatsav* so decreed. When someone became ill and did not soon recover with ordinary medicaments a diviner was called to find which *akombo* was interfering with recovery If the appropriate *akombo* rites were carried out and there was still no recovery then *tsav* was known to be at work In such a case only *mbatsav* could effect a recovery by deciding to withdraw their killing *tsav* and only they were responsible when illness eventuated in death For this reason European physicians were never given credit for a recovery and neither were they blamed for a death They could ease pain and give other treatment but recovery and death were

no man s wife I have bewitched no one nor eaten human flesh with any yet death is killing me for no cause If he had eaten
his flesh-deb
own life an
own death (
mates could

killer

Men and immature girls died in their own village a wife however was sent to the village of her birth to die among her own kin who could then be held responsible

COMPLETION OF THE BODY

Ib d p 20
East op c t. pp 250-51
Ib d. p 182
Ib d. pp 181 362
Ib d. pp 220 21
Ib d pp 329 30
Ib d. p 253

they became complete For boys there were more operations
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Ib i p 2
Ib d pp 26-4 49
Ib d p 4-49
Ib d p 49

k mb emblems were set to guard the
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TRUTH AND EVIDENCE

Truth was not rrived at by observed evidence but by divina
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carefully fo th occas n, squeezing red vegetable juice over

Ib d pp 185 86
Ibid. pp 83 87 9 92
Ib d p 9 D wnes op cit. pp 61-62
East op ci pp 65 66
p 64
D wnes
Abrah m p ci p 99
p 75 East, op cit. pp 235 298
D wnes
2
Ea
Ib d pp 277 78 D wnes op ci p 75
Abrah m i 52 East, p cit. pp 284-89
277 78
[11] East, op cit.

other destruction *ak mbo* emblems were set to guard the property transgression against them brought specific illness
en rv S nce the thieves would be of
ontrol of any
ı from another
and this meant
crop until the

of it, such as a
.kombo emblem
outside the house

The old way of cult vating the land was with a wooden hoe It is difficult to tell how the subst tution of iron tools has affected agriculture Iron was m gical a th ng of awe and was highly protective particularly against *trav*

TRUTH AND EVIDENCE

brother was to w ar this skull su
^ Men ccused by British offic als
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Ib d. pp 185 86
Ib d p 83 8 91 92
Ib d p 92 D wnes op cit. pp 61-62
Eas op ci 65 66
D wnes p 64
Ab aham p 99
D wnes p ci 75 East, op cit. pp 235 298.
Eas 2 2
Ibid. pp 7 8 D wnes op ci p 75
Ab ah m op 1 p 52 East, op cit. pp 284-89
East, op ci pp 277 78

usually brought to an amicable solution after d scussion in private or public

When courts were established the Tiv began to bring every small matter to them glad to throw the respons bility for the solution upon an outs der Many matters which would have been settled normally after some enjoyable discuss on were now brought to the d strict court. The British officials were ov rwhelmed by the amount of litigation and very much imp essed by the fact that practically every case involved at some point or other an exchange marriage or a difficulty over an g l They were shocked to d scover that daughters and sisters and nie es could be handed over without choice of their own for the procurement of a wif that they were owned by th male kinsmen And it seemed a travesty of human rights that a young man should be entirely dependent on the goodw ll of his brother or father for a wife that he should sometimes have to wait until middle age to get one while his father could enjoy 10 They worried about the young children who could be turned over to their uncle in anoth r villag if th s man s wife did not b ar many children to him. To British eye this went counter to the rights of the individual, and against human good As they saw t all th se difficulties sp ang f om a custom which was not essent al since it b d a alt n t ve form They saw exchange marriage as only ne of v l forms of m rriage They saw that marriage by purchase was a wide spread African custom they saw t in exist nce among the Tiv nd they dec ded that it would be p fectly safe to de lare it to be the only valid form In the nte st f human rights they told the women that they were now free to choos whom th y w uld marry and free to di or man who was unacceptable or so at any rate th T wom n nterp ted the rul ng

The new m rri g d ct was w lcomed by the young Tiv in fact th se had be n co ult d and had been enthu astically in its f vour S nce th com g of the Brit h with the laying of the rail o d th gh T territory and the paid employment t in ol d th y ung m n h d d scovered that they could get w lthy with t the d of their eld rs and with their earnings they k w that they c uld acquire wi es under the propo d l w Som of the elders for v rious reasons also support d th pr p d d ct nd presently a law was passed mak ng m rri g by pu hase the only legal form

The mm d te lt of the new d ct wa that there was even m w k f r th courts They were flooded by a new kind f A t m f a usat ons was b ought in cha ging ld m with k ll g by witchcr ft. The accus d readily a kn wl dged th a usation furnish ng terrifying details produc g w t ses upport They we e eage to convince the young m n f sup rio prowess to hold their tra

meant that the British decisions had spoiled the land for other reasons, also Without exchange marriage the family group faced discontinuity no longer could the wife be continuous with the mother since she d d not take the sister's place as a link in the chain of continuity This meant that a man could not set the great *akombo* h
since no wif
entit
not
Peop
to m... alliage the land to pests and drought the machina tions of evil *t av* could not be forestalled. The group had lost its ancestral right and power to protect itself from evil

Women could now choose young husbands But the new marriage d d not give women the dignified position which the British administrators had envisaged They did not now have the status that exchange marriage had given them, since they did not occupy the place of the sister As the true representa tives of the sisters they had been respected and given con sideration and they had been protected by the group *ak mbo* More than this the form of marriag chosen by the British administration from the Tiv forms had been one where the pattern was e ther one of impermanence—as when a man purchased only temporary sexual rights in a siste — or one in which the woman was a purchased slav in whom her group had abjured all rights so that her very life was owned by the group of her marriag So women now try to achieve pos tion through powe o er their men through the threat of divorce that is easy to conceive in a pattern whose essence was im permanence and many afraid of the *tsav* of the group and lacking the protection of the *akombo* do l ave Before the new marriage laws the women s own lineage was intensely interested in the permanence of h r marriage since if t was broken her fath or brother would have to return his wife and disruption would come to the group now the group is not concerned in maintaining the marriage Som tually encourages a b eak if a w m
can leave he
through a
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The new s a dichotomy a "younger" generation which h d not been present in the culture before. Age-mat s h d banded tog th r forming a group which could frustrat the evil *t av* of th intensely interrelated kinship unit. But this grouping though it had actually set itself against th elder m mbers f the f mily was not a grouping of younge ver us ld r not all members of one gen ration were unit d in the g grade and the family as a whole included people of all the age mates of a middle-aged man

ditional place through inspiring fear because through the new edict the delicately balanced equilibrium of roles and statuses had been thoroughly upset

The abolition of exchange marriage meant the introduction of individualism A man could now get a wife through his own efforts without waiting his turn which depended upon the priority of claims within the group and without dependence on his father In addition to get a wife he had to please a woman his acts were motivated by future aims not by the established past It was not enough for a man to become more and more Tiv by going through the pre-established stages of social development It was not necessary to incorporate the community any more or to act as a member of a unit The past embodied in the elders had lost its meaning Women did not insist on ear-ornaments so ear piercing a stage of the progress towards adulthood fell into abeyance they did not care for circumcision so this important rite was no longer essential for development Identity with the group through increasing participation in it according to the traditional procedure no longer provided the motivation the future not the past became motivating Change now received a sanction from the women they chose the men who had the newly introduced form of cicatrization as well as those who had the new type of vaccination mark They used these marks to distinguish the young from the old incidentally this provid d a reason for their continuance So now the great avenue through which all had developed into stages where they had power of choice and of action was by passed The elders who had reached the point where they were entitled to choose or to speak before others at a gathering or to take a wife without help from others through slow organic increase in being through incorporating society and nature bitterly resented the fact that men and women who had not attained this right within their persons were suddenly g ven it by British law Women could now interrupt an elder in the m dst of a speech since British law had given them clav s to sc at h with a woman could leave her old husband since th British had said that women could do as they wished Wh t the British did in this case was what they had done when they chose native officials and delegated author ty to them conferring power from the outside that had not grown organ cally within the body of the person And the elders r t l te l a they did when a man with insufficient *tsa* acqu red h gh *akombo* power they turned the r *tsa* against h m The l m of inflicting *tsav* deaths were sustained by the actual state of affairs since at this time the country was swept by a wa of ep demic deaths

To the elders the abolition of exchange marriage had

Ib d. p 45

for all of Palau, and this group of islands was transferred formally to American trusteeship the Trust Territory came into being legally in July 1947

There are now a few more than 6 000 inhabitants living in Palau, including, in addition to the indigenous population Chamorros from the Marianas peoples from other islands of Oceania, and from Korea, China and Japan In Palau eyes anyon who settles in Palau with the intention of remaining indefinitely and who accepts the duties and way of life of the native population is a member of the society It is a violation of etiquette and a technique of abuse to remind individuals of their origin. The largest foreign element in Palau before World W II was the Japanese and Okinawan populat ons

Th population of Palau was formerly many times larger than it is at present. Numbers fell sharply during the early years of contact with the outside world d to recover There is l" lem in Palau as a wh w thin Palau there is which may make for population density ra Babelthaup to 333 o computed realistically social and economic f to resources the util decisions concerning combination of inte conflicts ove land use and the m.ning of phosph te on the sland of Angaur h s reduced sharply the land avail ble for raising food th r and has made for pres ure of p pulation

Every class and household on Babelth up now has access to land. W th the decline in popul tion, landless class no longer exists.

The size compo t on and d stribution of the population dropped to a point wh e t seemed doubtful that the society would survive More th n 150 ill g s dis ppeared for there we e not enough people t perfo m the traditio al functions and to qualify f the rious specialized roles contained with n the ncestral soc al o d

There has be comp at ly l ttle oppos tion to h duction of mod rn m d c l car trend of gr hold. of an ing i w r must Th

J ulu

uned, especially among females

might combine for retaliation against a slightly older brother A regrouping and a redividing took place then which was disruptive of the structure of the unit In the same way the equilibrium between husband and wife was upset Whereas before the wife had been concerned in adding to her husband s wealth spinning cotton for him to weave into cloth which he could then sell now the young men complain that their wives expect them to spend their earnings on them demanding that they buy them cloth and other trade goods upon threat of leaving them

PALAU[1]

INTRODUCTION PLACE AND PEOPLE

The Palau Islands lie north of New Guinea and east of the Philippines Babelthaup the largest of the islands is over 150 square miles of rolling volcanic hills whose highest elevation is under 700 feet All of the islands are narrow the widest one being only 18 miles across

Palau was politically autonomous prior to the nineteenth century No outside group had ever attempted to conquer it and it had no aspirations to conquer any outside group There were intermittent migrations into the islands from surrounding areas and continuous transactions with neighbouring peoples During the past century and a half Palau has experienced cultural contact with many peoples who were among the world powers Spain formally exercised control over Palau from 1885 to 1899 Germany for the next 15 years Japan during the 30-year span from 1914 to 1944 and since then, the United States The relative brevity of the Spanish and German eras in addition to the absence of Spanish officials and the small number of German ones—in contrast to the Japanese—limited the extent of the influence of these two powers on native life With the end of World War II the Am rican forces assumed full administrative responsibility

[1] This study l b ed fi ld bs rv t m d l Pal d g th ee t ips to the sland Dr Joh U m i ti lly er ed N l l fl i ffice d g th as a d occup t i 1944 H t rned l 1946 t d tak a s rvey of the h m d ec m eso rces f P l u, p rt f

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There are now a few more than 6 000 inhabitants living in Palau, including in addition to the indigenous population Chamorros from the Marianas peoples from other islands of Oceania, and from Korea, China and Japan. In Palau eyes anyone who settles in Palau with the intention of remaining indefinitely and who accepts the duties and way of life of the native population is a member of the society It is a violation of etiquette and a technique of abuse to remind individuals of their origin The largest foreign element in Palau before World War II was the Japanese and Okinawan populations

The population of Palau was formerly many times larger than it is at present. Numbers fell sharply during the early years of contact with the outside world and then slowly began to recover There is little prospect of an over population problem in Palau as a whole in the next few generations However within Palau there is a wide range in density between localities which may make for population pressures in particular places Population density ranges from 4 persons per square mile on Babelthaup to 333 on Koror The man land ratio cannot be computed realistically without taking into account intervening social and economic factors which determine the accessibility to resources the utilization of available land and foreigners decisions concerning land allocations etc For instance the combination of inter village conflicts over land use and the mining of phosphate on the island of Angaur has reduced sharply the land available for raising food there and has made for pressure of population

Every class and household on Babelthaup now has access to land. With the decline in population, a landless class no longer exists.

The size composition and distribution of the population dropped to a point where it seemed doubtful that the society would survive More than 150 villages disappeared, for there were not enough people to perform the traditional functions and to qualify for the various specialized roles contained within the ancestral social order

There has been comparatively little opposition to the introduction of modern medical care and sanitation. The recent trend of growth has led some clans to reactivate extinct households and districts and to make plans for the re-establishment of ancestral villages Planning for the future was notably lacking in the society but now people say It isn t our custom to worry about the future but we know we are in a new day and must work for the future

The crude death rate has declined, especially among females

of child bearing age The mortality rate for infants and children has continued to he th h h Th —
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These incessant movements give a special character to Palau life To an outsider communities seem nearly empty during the co of he d d

of a o ti en children with them on visits By adolescence young people make frequent trips around Palau on their own Even the very old spend much of their time travelling from branch to branch of their clan.

ECONOMIC TRENDS

Since the beginning of contact with the West Palau has developed a dual yet integrated economic order one segment consists of a subsistence economy using a tradition-oriented handicraft technology and the other is a commercial economy with a foreign-oriented machine made technology The two sets of patterns are structurally interlinked and functionally interdependent There has always existed a degree of commercial enterprise in the traditional economy Today the foreign economy is regarded as being as much a part of Palau s tradition as the subsistence one The majority of adult males en

wives clans A sorcerer except in matters concerning the weather chants aloud and waves his arms to turn away a local shower at so many American dollars per day Fishermen toss hand grenades into the sea to catch fish and then

sort their catch according to those which are taboo those which go as tribute to the *él te* and those to be sold on the open market or consumed. A nativistic leader waves a red flag (an ancient symbol of power over one s fortune) to deflect the course of bombers overhead. A Japanese trained local business man produces with chain belt methods handi crafts of traditional style to acquire sufficient American money to purchase a piece of Palau money so as to enhance his family s prestige and bargaining power in competition for the headship of a district. Sears Roebuck catalogues are consulted for buying implements to substitute for those which they have forgotten how *to* or do not wish to make A meal may be comprised of a mixture of American canned and South East As n derived foods prepared in Spanish iron pots, placed in Japane e dishes on a table made of Philipp ne driftwood eaten with German silverware in a commercial restaurant housed in an Am rican Quonset hut which has been financed by a Japanese credit pattern and is operated by a native clan as a family enterprise while a Japanese vers on of an Ameri can phonograph plays African-derived dance mus c. These are merely illust tions of the interconnexions between the traditional and newer forms of economic patterns in contem porary Palau.

Contact between the fore gn and nati e econom c systems began with the interm tt nt visits of private tr ders who were eagerly welcomed by the nati es and the Germ n and Jap- anese eras brought about the dual economy Production for profit was made a central theme the virtues of the work ethic w re indoctrinated into the younge g nerations through schools inc nt v for output were off red in foreign goods. Num rous n w c ps and l vestock were introd ced Scientific experiments in agri lt were undertaken and the findings taught to nati e farm rs Implements u table to the local industries were ld at modest price Suds d es were granted to expand l nd u d cult tion and where these proved an insuffic ent n nti p rsuas n and ome pressure were used. J int gov rnm tal d pri at cap tal concerns built instal lat ons f ct ries and t nsportat on facilit s Joint native and fo gn sociat ns were formed to market native products to mp rt ma f ctu d goods from abroad and to foste omm c l nt rpri e n the islands Groups of for eign exp rt w ent n to explo e the potentially useful res u s and to w k o t feas ble means for their develop me t.

As P l u output n reased exports rap dly mounted and surpass d mp rt wh h continued th ir upwa d trend The ga of th p d g conomy were v de ced in the stead ly n g l l f l g f r th enti e populat on Natives b lt w h m d es d in fore gn clothes bought many

of child bearing age The mortality rate for infants and children has continued to be rather high There are twice as many deaths among male as among female children

Although the locations of districts villages and households are relatively fixed the populations who make up the social groupings have a high degree of mobility in contemporary

is usually a relative to provide shelter and food

young people make frequent trips around Palau on their own Even the very old spend much of their time travelling from branch to branch of their clan.

ECONOMIC TRENDS

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port baskets of sweet potatoes to a neighbouring village for a

wives clans A sorcerer except in matters concerning the weather chants aloud and waves his arms to turn away a local shower at so many American dollars per day Fisher men toss hand grenades into the sea to catch fish and then

perf rm th task and the man who wishes a new home hires others to construct it.

SOCIAL ORIENTATIONS TO THE WORLD

The dominant foreigners have encouraged the people of Palau to participate i newly int oduced programmes and to ass mi Lte foreign way and the people have welcomed each incom in group as alued addit on There has been l ttle hostil ty and n c nspiracy to ou t the f reign rs Fo e gners have made no systematic ttempt to destroy or suppress the native social o der official policy has be n to support Palau s bas c pat t rns This has made it poss bl for individuals to ga n foreign good and training without depriving themselves of the tradi tional security of the ancestral subsi tence recip ocity mutual a d ystem In the cou s of a life-cycle the young have worked w th fo c gners and then wh n old r have retired to their home villag Cl avages in te est have occurred between the fo oner s ec nom nd ocial plans and n tive wishes but these have b en fewe than th se which ha e occurred in other comp abl eas of th w rld

The nati es point t th progress they have made in the cha ge-ove f m Sp nish to G rm n and f m German to J p nese rul They kn w that the Un ted States is a far w althie country th n J pan and hence h greater hopes fo the futu e G in a e j dged both in soc al life and in material goods Fo gn t ms ha e gr at prest ge in Palau and a e welc med as aluabl additions even when less ef fic nt tha th ir own Th demand is f mor outside ex posu and mo nt d cti ns There l ttl nostalgia f r th anc e t er nd an imp tie t eag rn s to a cel te the p c of d n m nt The ha ges b ught about by the fo one e eg d d as h v ng mod fi d the social arch t c ture f Pala w th t ha g u derm ed ts cultural founda tions F xampl th o tlawing of nat ve warf re and of fem l g ests th me cl b-houses seriously changed patt rns a d c e ted probl m but d d not d slocate the entire social d Th s n no ense total bewilderment or cul tural coll p e

The fo gn tod y viewed as the sou ce of ultimate anct th pol t cal d s p rd nate in the h er ar hy f p w d th prim ry for e fo social change In the a l er p d f cult l contact the fo gn rs were scolded f vi l t g h loc l w ys and on oc asion were cut off nd k ll d W th th tten at on of t d t nal rel gi us nstitut n th f gu of th fo gne replac d that of the and gen l gi f ct n ries and th ir supernatural p rits Th bst t tion f ymbols was ccompl shed by trans fer of som of the em t on l effect surrounding ultimate au

luxuries and dreamed of an ever improving level of living
World War II temporarily and rather sharply disrupted the existing economy S h d of ho es h k

producers for the native market and as a result villages with goods to sell have experienced a decided increase in their income Those families which rely primarily on wage work have felt pressed A rise also has taken place in the price of imported commodities

Those in a position to do so have stepped up their u e of traditional Palau customs to secure additional income to ffset their deficits For example during one three month interval study two-thirds of the families had contributed under mutual aid patterns and but one of four families secured income by these means Because the circulation of funds under these patterns is not an equal one pressure had been keenly felt This in part explains the mounting discontent among members of the younger generation who are primarily wage-earners and who are not in a position to use the mutual aid patterns as a source of income

Occupational mobility is the expected pattern in the course of a man s lifetime One reason for this is the comparative ease of migration and the availability of homes and relatives for temporary or even lengthy stays Another is the fact that the kind of work a person does is usually less important than the amount of income derived from the employment The prestige given to various kinds of work is in terms of the social status of the employed individuals Foreign learned skills are not in themselves prestige giving The Palau groups that want income opportunities to expand are not as concerned with a question of securing a particular type of employment as with the income that would come with it

While the possession of wealth is a source of envy the expenditure of wealth for the glory of the family and clan brings added honours from all quarters A feast given for some occasion which draws a very large number of people will be widely and favourably discussed as proof that the donor is really well respected No *self respecting village would build* its own club house and few men would consider constructing their own homes in spite of the possession of necessary skills The community pays another village of equal social rank to

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Foreigners sometimes confuse symbolic acts of going na ti e as proof of entrance into the natı e world Natives in turn, occas onally think of themselves as moving into the f e gner s world by taking on the styles of speech, costume and behaviour of foreigners. There are matters which are s ld m revealed by natives to foreigners or by foreigners to natives.

There are foreign facing and native facing officials with parallel social organizations to facilitate the co-ordination of the two wo lds. Those traditional structures which have been revamped by the foreigner s rules combine both the fore gn and the natı e ones. Incorporated into the social structure are those fore gn-derived institutions known as the school the ho p tal, the store the police the mission and congeries of governmental agencies. These have become ~ s where people congregat — ι

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power structure that has effective means for legitimizing its decis ons and executing them makes pos sibl collective action when issues threaten to d srupt the social fabric. This pow structu e is manned by sk lled political artisans who are adro t in devising effect ve means Everyone is enmeshed in a const ll t n of connected groups and may be activated to r sp d in an expected way

Foreigners u ware of the complex social structure of the subtl ty of all s cial inte cours of the soph st cated ma n pulations of affa rs have blunde ed upon occas n A labour relations exp rt hir d by an engineering company violated Pal u ethics n h s attempts to create good relat ons He vaunted auth rity nd crudely threat ned coercion to people who respected only sua indirect methods He joked and teas d inf rmally h g crude publ c demon trations of affection in a s c ty where this was tantamount to indecency H playfully t led the hai of ranking m n, an act equiva lent—in Western terms—to unbuttoning a man s fly in public On the oth r h d g ne ous treatment evoked the trad t onal pattern of r c p ty and graciousness and when the Ameri an m l tary g vernm nt, which fed clothed and sheltered the p ple sk d for l nteers in th wo k of reconstruction p pl po d d b t no p y was accepted ven though there was a l g e p n ce in mod rn money economy

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Verti l mobil ty in the titled class is of two general types advancem nt through inhe tance—the appro ed form—and climbing by man pulation which is always accompanied by what is regard d as the low ring of others Commoners are rel ctant to work for a wealthy man or one who has such aspirati ns of climbing for they feel it would be benefiting th entrepreneur and thereby detracting from their own modest lik lihood of ad ancing

There is l ttle nvy of the *él t* by members of the lower class for these positions are beyond the levels of asp ration of the ordinary p rson but some of the wealthy do have unannounced amb t o s to enter the *él te* and have been able to gain titles Until the Japanese era the *él te* looked down upon the wealthy without titles but now the wealthy are more acceptable as mates for child en of the *élite* as political ad-visers and as econ m c assoc tes

A low r-class w man who m rries an *él te* assumes his social standing only as long as they are m rried In some clans by mutual consent, the husband s family may adopt the child en of such a marri ge when there a e no other heirs Low r-class men cannot affo d to marry *lite* women, and such marriages are strongly d scour ged. The prospects f a lower-class person becoming wealthy i tod y limit d

The enio titl f the maj r local ties are known through out Palau the l ser ones are not Childr n are aware of the social system by th time they e 12 to 15 years old Young people decide wh ch kin h p lin to f llow if they have a choice afte as rta ni g the lineage wh ch off rs them the ghest futu e status In games the ch ldren of the *él t* serve leaders and whe organized programmes take place in the schools espe lly f th t hers are not present, they as ume the h adsh p A l we -cl ss child who has a fight with an *él t* child is scolded by h p ents and warned th t it may bring reprisals fr m *l t* par nts The lower-class parents will v sit the *él t* pa ents t pologize and mak am nds *El t* parents urg th ir h ld n t x e th role of lead rship as a m an of p p ring th ms l es for the future l fe wo k There is littl int -clas c mpet ti n w thin the schoolroom fo the *él t* kn w th ir t tu n l fe s assured and feel no need to exc l o er th rs a ad m c ct t s.

Class p t n does t d t rmin the location of the house hold w th th ll g but t does aff ct the qual ty of the h m Du g th e ly part of the Japanes era some of the we lthy l s b lt homes l k the *él t* Thes w re burned d wn a d th wn rs fined Today the we lth er members d n t f th oppo t n The American Quonset hut has t nd d to the diff rences between cl sses in hous ng and the l m t d pply f f r gn luxury good has curta l d the diffe e tial in h usehold possess ons One of the most conspic-

regulat ons Perhaps the most effective techn que of social control was and still s the use of open scolding which puts a person to sh me The loss in reputat on reflects not only on the person involved but also on his parents clan and village Because the individual s so highly dependent on groups and can do so little as an isolated being he is most anxious to retain his good standing A person could not run away and start all over ag in among total strangers It might be better to move to another district, but this would require the appro al of the chief of the new local ty

The primary defence open to those who offended was a verbal one Fabrication of the fa ts was and st ll is a well developed art. A more common procedure is to acquiesce overtly to any orders given but actually to evade their execu tion h le verbally simulating compl ance The order m ght ev n be enthus ast cally applauded and then either misunder stood or worked at witho t e er being quite accomplished.

There are d stinct differences betw en districts in the way the 7t functioned One prom nent district was renowned for the use of violence in adm n stration whereas in another equally outst nding di ect fines were more common O e chief was sa d to rule by resorting to coercion to secure obedi ence anothe by employing flattery and persuasion to activate others, kilfully wo k ng out soc al arrangements even in venting n w cust m wh ch met the needs of e eryone

Everyon c des that an effective leader uses some de ception a d trickery Ma y rulers maintain that to confide in the common pe ple o t in the open discuss on of issues brings git tion unrest and confus on for ordinary people know littl about P lau egulat ons M eover they point out, the Palau peopl ar qu ck n enthus asm fo any new idea. It would be proof of we k ess rather than trength of char acter fo a ch ef t fa l to su firm rders Ambitious rival clans ar alert t any opportu ty to g asp the titles of those above them and n g e te d sgrac uld befall a ch ef than to be r spons bl f h clan s lo g out to another No one actually d oc te mplet qu ty in th distribution of re ward a d the e o r co ds of anyone openly urging any majo ef rms n the p wer structure—until the coming of the f reign rs

Ne th th f e gners no the nati es possessed any strong moti es fo th bol t on f the trad t onal schemes for politi al man e m t n Pal p The fo e gners were concerned primarily w th q t n f h w to utilize and supervise native go rnm nt ff u ly Som form of centralization and con centr ti n f uth rity appeared to be the rational solution, a d as P l th m l es wer eage to tak advantage of the pportun ty t h n their status they eadily responded

adaptat ons into taxation enterprises capable of producing sizabl sums

The introd ction of foreign schools has provided an ori entation for youth, which exalts foreign models of life over nat e ones Spearheaded by the school teachers many younger people have increas ngly favoured changes in Palau many of which would undermine the ruling class Despite their crit cisms of the *st tus quo* these groups of educated young men have not yet emerged as the dom nant political force They submit to the pressures of their superiors Their right to attend or speak at h gh policy meetings is not recognized

Democratic pr cepts introduced by Americans ha e given Palau politics a new dimens on The younger generation for example has employed th theme of liberty to ga n greater freedom from authority The Palauan authorities have coun t red with the argument that the right to do as one pleased as not inherent in the concept of l berty fo surely the victorious f r igners in the recent war exercised group disci pl e The inaugurat on of democratic procedures such as the popular el ction of ch efs has had few immediate con sequ nces, but may have fa reaching effects in the future

FAMILY AND PERSON

There are fi e nterl cking kinsh p systems wh ch combine blood nd social affil atio s in varying ways The fi efold units will b r be r ferred to a th nucl a family the extended n clear family the hous h ld the clan and the extended clan.

The nuclea fam ly co si t rd narily of a wife her husband their child e and h r h ld n by p evious marriage S nce th Germ n the tend cy has been for married so s especi lly th younge on to l ve separately The younger gen ti n p f t t ess the uclear f m ly whe as th old o e ar m oriented toward the xtended nu cl ar f mily

Most men ha e but one w f at ny one time Polygamy under nce t l l w wa stricted to the *él t* and was per m bl only th e nk ng d tricts more rec ntly anyone with ffic t w lth uld h e two wives but today the d cl of oc l c em n a d clan functions has red ced the need f pl l m ri ges and the fore gners have tried int rm tt tly t d o ge r outlaw the pra t ce

Marriage b f the g of 40 a e rather mpe manent and l st o th a age betw n tw and th ee years Ma riag s wh ch h l ted long as 10 years are not l ghtly aband d D p t the h gh incidence of m rital change th e f pl who married young nd continued the m rr g f a l f t me

M ri ges tod m y be either love matches or arrange

d tnct officers An in

federate clans from two or more districts The extensiveness of the e tended clan is correlated with class position. The

l gend ry cco nts th n any other figure There i n ad ge that a male t tle holde s espected f r h s power but a *m as* is lov

sponsibility for f rmul ting

The ordinary native s world still continues to be mainly that of his village It is the centre of most social act ities and it is one of the most c hes ve social un ts in Palau Loyalty to the home village is second only to that of the family Though vil lage solidar ty is less intense than before acculturation it is more resilient than wid r loyalties

Individuals are subject to the regulations of the village in which they res de A person who works in a second and lives in a third is subject to the last. Howe er if he comm ts an offence in e ther of the other two villages, he may be pun shed by its chief and the chief of the village in which he res d s has no authority to intervene The consent of the village chief must be obt ined for permanent m gration in or out of the vill ge

Villages are ranked in soci l po ition within each district. Persons who are cont mplating a move usually prefer to settle in h gh ranking villages. The Japanese officially abolished village rankings but the majo change was merely that the ranki g system became unofficial. On the whole the older ge erati n a more illag rank-conscious than the middle or you ger age-grades

Th re are 72 villag s w th inhabitants formerly there were three times that number Uninhab ted villages still count as vill ges w th respect to landownership legal residence formal polit cal tructure and inh ritanc of titles There are com mun t es in wh ch the popul t on onsists of sev ral distinctly separ te village for adm n strati e nd social funct ons al though there are no geographical divisions between them In some commun t s th a e sep rate chiefs and separate coun cils fo h villag un t w thin t other commun ties m y have several h f and but n un l in st ll others the chief and council of o e villag w ll ct f r the others w thin it

The l g and more isolated v llages tend to have fully developed institut n wh reas the small one adjacent to other sm ll l g ll ges ha e relat vely few

S me illages phy lly and socially isolated from the larger soci ty They h v l t ly few vis tors and in turn d l ttl t g el where Commercial transact ons with the out d w ld l m ted to mall number of tem produc tion fo the m k t s incidental to ubsistence enterprises M mbe f h ll ges ha no ambit on t rise to dom nan d th y l g t na usly t th ir own self-dependence. A d g p f lla re nea ly the oppos te in th ort ent t o Th y oft n th moth r o s mor ranking village in the d t t o ha e a p r t ns f a h ving ascendancy A : ta t t m of t rs comes to th comm n ty Tr ps to oth pl are ommo Local resou ces are used xclusively

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Som vill g are phy cally and socially isolated from the larger society Th y ha lat ly few v sitors and in turn d l ttl t g ls where Comm rcial transactions w th the outs d wo ld a e l m ted to mall number of items produc b fo th ma k t inc dental to ubsistence enterprises Members of h vill ge ha e no ambition to ri e to domi nanc d th y l ng t na usly to the r own elf-depend n e A se o d g oup of llag e nearly the oppos te in their ori ent t n Th y oft n the mother o s n o ranking village in th d t ct or ha e asp rations f a h ev ng ascendancy A con ta t t m f t rs comes to the commun ty Trips to oth pl s are common Local resou ce are used exclu ely

The districts which suffered the greatest losses in the very early period had either to devise methods for maintaining their status or to suffer a decline in position and wealth. They could not put as many war canoes into the sea and hence were more vulnerable to attack as well as lacking in bargaining power. When the foreigners established their industries they had less man power to contribute to the labour market, and could produce less native goods for the market, and were at a disadvantage in the rivalry for foreign money and goods. The foreigners located their schools in large population centres in the initial period, a further contribution to the decline of prestige among the smaller populations. Today several small districts with an eye to the future are resettling their old sites and exploring ways of hastening their growth.

The traditional council and the foreign-oriented council now constitute the two principal political bodies of the district. In theory both are legislative and administrative. The foreign-oriented council developed on a limited scale in the German era in a few localities and was "officially" established in some districts in the Japanese period. Conflict between a chief of a powerful district and the Japanese administration precipitated the decision. The Japanese removed the chief and elected in his place a man from the male line of the same clan who by tradition could not head the ancestral council. In order to form a group he could more easily work with in collaboration with the foreigners he organized the foreign-oriented council made up of village chiefs. The traditional council was made up of senior ranking titles in the district and there was little overlapping between the two. As an outcome of rivalry between the two councils the traditional council became an organization occupied with traditional affairs while the foreign-oriented council concentrated on modern affairs. Other districts soon followed this lead. The ancestral district council has proved to be a resilient social organization however and there is some sentiment among the élite that eventually it may be restored to its former dominance or incorporate the foreign-oriented council.

The role of the district chief also is a study in plural system. The e a f w districts in which the district chief is merely symbol t d because of the demand of the foreign e n f w th rs the chief is the dominant figure. In some districts there are dual chiefs one who faces the foreigners and th th Palauans. In several districts the chief has become l ed in l g political arrangements and has turned his district duties t his administrative chief. In many districts th e re assistant chiefs established partially in response to demands of the foreigners which the native chiefs could t carry out.

hot Th culture presented in this section is the culture of n en la e. The Spa ish Am ricans c st tuted the pop l tion f the Stat of N w M xico when thi was annex d by the U t d State In th face f diff ring dom n nt ulture of rap d techn log l ch ge aro d them, they m i d the val es, the concepts, the attitudes of their f th rs, not thro gh gn ra ce of oth way of life, but by cho Th y cept d a few tra ts from th A gl culture plu ked them o t f t t d g v th m ther own background Th y took lectri ty f their houses b t n gene l they rejected running w t nd pl mbing, because these w m p lati ns of n tur with wh h they w re fam lia and i t mat Th y pl y bask tb ll d l ght candle t the sa t for id m winn ng Th y ccepted school g, but t the A gl m t tions f ed cat —th high sta d rd f l ing the bett job Wh th l t st techn l gy m t th m in th f rm f atom expl o t the N w M xico testing gr nds m y of th m h d ev een train or teambo t When they becom u b n zed, th y p od c the llag comm ty a d buy p ece of l d to till. Th y choose d ject ccording to th system of al es.

Wh n the United States annexed the State of New Mexico in 1848 the n n Ind an populat on c nsisted almost ent rely of Spa ish sp king people They were des ndants of imm grants who had follow d th Conquistado es from Mexico and had settled in Ind an t ritory n the borde lands along the Rio Grande By the nd of th se nteenth century they had f unded many commun t s uch as those they h d known in M xico They l d in villa entr d a und a chapel ded cated to a patro sa nt Ther cultu al contacts were w th Mexico Many llag s t lled th r own small plot of land, and lso work d n the l nd f their *p t ó* often a wealthy el ti e who had b e gi n a la ge land g ant, and had as sumed a p t n of e pons bil ty toward the poo er llagers the *p ns* N t t l the m ddle of th n n t nth c ntury wh n New M x o b am part of th Un ted States and th S nt F Tr il wa pen d f m M ssouri wa the e any sh ft n n nt tio orth-e twa d to the U ited States The origin l vill g *p p t ó* p tt rn of Sp n sh Am ri an l fe was n t gr atly lte d by th ch t ad r army settl ment pattern of the first A glo mig ant th Engl sh-sp aking Americans Th Angl me t the same territory but with such selec t ly d ff t g l th t the two cultur s continued for a p riod w th l ttl t mate o tact nd w th comp rati ely l t

Th d b ed l f unpubl hed no es d epo ts f bservers h l ed h Am ica vil ges h f h d l f f th com De Th p bl hed m l much f by m nl rs f the U ed States l f A f n es ea rally ino mm ty oc o-economic l h ps d blems P ul A F W lte J 1938

THE SPANISH AMERICANS OF NEW MEXICO U.S.A.

A t The culture presented in this sect n is the culture of encl The Sp nish Ame c ns co st tuted the pop l t on of th St te f N w M xic when thi was a x d by the U ted Stat s In th fa of a diff ring dom ant culture of rap d tech ol gical hang arou d th m th y m ta d th al es, the c n pts, th ttitudes f th ir f th rs not through ignorance of anoth w y f lif but by h They pt d f w t ts from th Anglo culture pl k d th m t f nt t d gav th m th r own backgr nd Th y took lectri ty f the houses but in ge ral th y rejected running w t d pl mbing, bec se these were m pul t f tu w th wh h th y were fam l and t m t Th y pl y b ketb ll a d l ght c dl to the sa t f r a d in winn g Th y cc pt d school g but not th A gl m t u f ed catio —th h gh ta d d of livi g the bett job Wh n th l t t chn logy am to th m n the form of tom c pl ons t th N w M x test g grounds many f th m h d ee tr in t ambo t. Wh n they becom u b n zed, th y produ th ll g mmu ty and buy a p ece of l d t till. Th y choose d ject cco ding to th y t m f al es

When the Un ted States annexed the State of New Mexico in 1848 th non Indian population consisted almost entirely of Span sh-speaking people They were descendants of immigrants who had foll wed the Conquistadores from Mexico and had settl d n Ind an territory n the borderlands along the Rio Grand By the e d of the se ente nth century th y had found d m ny ommun ties such a those they had known in Mexico They l d in villag s centr d around a chapel ded cat d to a pat on sa nt Their ultu al contacts were with M x co M ny v ll ge ti ll d thei own small plot of land and also wo ked on the land of the p t ón often a wealthy r lative wh had been gi en a large land grant, and had as umed a po t o of re pons bil ty toward the poorer v ll gers the p ns Not unt l th middl of th n ete nth c ntury when New Mexic b me p rt of th Un ted States and the S nta F T ail was op ned from M sso ri was the any sh ft in on nt t on rth-e tw d to the Un ted States The origi al village p p t ó p ttern f Spa sh Ameri an l fe was not gr atly It ed by the ch t d army ttlement pattern of th fi t Angl m g a ts th E gl h-sp aking Americans The Anglo am into th me te rit ry but w th such selec t ely d ffe ent g ls th t th two cultu s c nt nu d fo a period w th l ttle nt m t o t t nd w th comp rat vely l t

Th dy based l l un bl hed no es d epo f hse ers ho l ed h Am 'll es h hed m te l m h f b m mbers f h L ed Sta es ty Th p bl hed m te l m h f b m mbers f h L ed Sta es Dep f 4 l h d l f f f th com la h ps d p bl m es en ll upo mm socio-eco mic P ul A. F W j 1938

protector for the village as a whole and its individual members
The average size of the villages is 200-250 Only two of th
Spanish American wn
ov r 600 A "
(placitas) reco
along the river
down the roac
small settlemer ... or as an integral part of a par
ticular village

These villages which are the old Mexico of New Mexico do not stand out from the surrounding cou tryside The sandy brown of old adobe and straw the tan plastered walls dark poles of the corral fences merge with the prevailing natural colours Beyond the squares of the fields and the lines of the irng ti n d tches lies the randomness of sage brush and tum ble weed wild flowers and grasses Signs and billboards are absent, s nce these towns and villages are not for the chance stranger They belong to peopl who
for th
e
lo
lo

FAMILY

To be Sp nish Ameri an is to belo g to
structur l 7

not far a
to be a t
f m lia n ... is felt to be a unit and functi s ... n So b ld their wn houses when they m rry with the help of th r f the b others and othe rel tives But on own house is an extremely nebulous thing as f r s th p rt cul r persons in t are conc rned. V ti g ba k d f rth goes on c nstantly The grandchild en will tay m ght t their grandparents house will wa h and ir n wh n they re th re
f m an h

Bairs) 5 V L 2 (5 U d States Offic f I dian
Fl ce Kl kh h 1941 pp 22 24
Ramah P jec d.

The specialized roles of woman are concerned with mother-hood and the care of others i e midwifery and curing These specialties are in no sense careers Any adult woman, usually one pa t childbearing age may gain the reputation of being especially successful in helping her neighbours in child birth or illness. Gradually she is called on more and more until she comes to be thought of as a *partera* (midwife) or *cu andera* (specialist in curing disease)

Spanish Americans love children and want to have many of them. Birth is a normal process in a different category from physical pathology and the *cu and a* is never called in—only the *partera* From the beginning of
brought into contact
is callec
good fo
for 40
sarily m
others
away fro
will p ck
arrives t ted to the new-comer
This doe stablish sibling rivalry Kluckhohn re-ports that she found no cases of conflict among sisters and al-most no among brothers The sibling relation s a cherished one of affection, companion hip and interdependence Mar-nott describes how a group of s blings given a ride to school arrang d them el es in the car without any of the scramble for th d rable po t ons which is oft n found among a group of Angl s blings The is pride and concern and spontaneous responsibility n the relationship a 13 year-old boy having to braid th hair of b s little s sters or to cook thei meals shows no s gn of finding thi a bu den or a d ty Cousins fit into the s bling p cture and b others sisters and cous ns learn to take care f each othe when young and continue the pattern in later life There s an dentification of inte ests and a general equality nd on inheritan property is divided in equal sh re When an old broth r has to assume the father s place how he al o cts with the father's authority rather than with th b othe s perm ssi eness.

Child n not separated from the adults and take part in wh t is g ing on as far as th ir development allows only wh important guests rri e d they withdraw with the wom n. Th activ ties are eldom the centre of interest, their

Ib d, p 13 14
Ib d p 8
Ib d p 6
R mah P ject op cit.
M t, p ci pp 101 20

The specialized roles of woman are concerned with mother hood and the care of others i e midwifery and curing These specialties are in no sense careers Any adult woman, usually one past childbearing age may gain the reputation of being especially successful in helping her neighbours in child birth or illness Gradually she is called on more and more until she comes to be thought of as a *partera* (midwife) or *cu andera* (specialist in curing disease)

Spanish Americans love children and want to have many of them. Birth is a normal process in a different category from physical pathology and the *cu de a* is never called in—only the *parter* From the beginning of a baby's life he is brought into contact with the extended family Another woman is called on for first nursing as colostrum is bel eved not to be good f r the baby Traditionally the mother should for 40 days Even though sanly means a grea others. A child rece away from the grou will p ck it up and arrives this warm p This does not ppea ports that she found most none among br one of affection, cc nott describes how arranged th the desirabl Angl s blr pride and concern m ng a group of respon ibility in the relationship a 13-year-old boy having to braid the hair of b s l ttl s ters or to cook their meals, shows no s gn of finding this a b den or a duty Cousins fit into the sibling p cture and brothers s sters and cousins l arn to t ke care of e ch ther when young and continue the pattern in later life Th e s an dentification of inte ests and a general equality and on inh ritan p operty is d vided in equal hares When an ld b th has to assume the fath r s place howe be also acts with the father s authority rather than with th b th r perm ss es

Child a e t separated f m the adults and take part in whate er is going n as f as their developme t allows only when important guests arri do they withd aw with the w m n. Th activ ties are seldom the centre of int rest, their

Ib d. pp 13 14
Ib d p 8
Ib d 45
R mab P ject, op t.
M rr t, p ci pp 201 20

is finished, the couple separates. Thus boy and girl solve the problem of being together by formally ignoring one another This pattern of segregation of the sexes is charact ristic of many aspects of Spanish Am r pericnce

an uer to w friend. Trad par ts and t a person must marry outside of the second-cousin degree of relationship Divorce is prohib ted by the Church and is actually rare Where t does occur the man is apt to leave the community permanently The marriage bond is a strong one centring in the welfare of the family rather than in the individual happiness of the members and powerfully re-inforced by the sanction of the Church against breaking it. ... tiveens and the Church rules that ... e be arranged by

When parents have many children they know that they will not be lonely in their old age their children will live near them and they will have grandchildren about them As chil dren give respect to their parents grandparents command the respect of th ir grown children and have a somewhat indulgent rel tionship with their grandchildren. Age in itself is valued and honoured. Children are not expected to go farther and faster than the r parents but to listen to the r advice and learn from their exp ri nce to consult the old people and heed their words The truly aged are cared for by th r children and other rel ti es There is no traditional community system of welfa e beyond the *f m lia.*

The Spanish Americ n has two major links with the world beyond h s villag Both of these are derived from the *f m l a* sy tem He is known through his relatives The ties of brother hood ensu hi comfort and make him feel at home within the large Spani h American society H s f ther even more h *p t ón,* is the link with the total community Anglo and Spanish

AUTHORITY

Le dersh p is pro ded through the *par ón* system whereby the leading man in the community whether because of his finan c l tatus b knowledge of the outside wo ld or his personal p we assumes a pos t on f responsibility fo the villagers Th *p t ón* syst m rep oduces the family p cture for the com mun ty and th *p trón* holds the position ascribed to the father

Edm son, p cit.
Ib d.
Kluckh hn, 1941 cit, p 1
Van der Ee den, op cit, p. 5

pat ón allowed these families to graze small flocks or herds on the open ranges and to ha e free access to water and fuel resources Depe dence on the *pat ón's* kindness has been ac c mpan ed by dependence on his power the fear of his ruth lessness his unpredictability It would be dangerous to oppose him

The dominant male has something of a reputat on for cru lty but this is not regarded as the ideal pattern of dom nance It i the good *p t ón* the good husband who is p a sed and violence has not been patterned On the part of the dependent it is better to submit than to act in a way which will evoke anger and possibly vi lence

COMMUNITY

To be Spanish American s to be a brother The basis of this sy t m s again the *f m l a*. It r lates to the sol darity which is set up ov r against the father figure—originat ng in the unity of moth r and children By ext ns on it is my group against others who may dom n te But it includes the atmosphere of fraternity as much as of opposition The way in which Spanish Amer cans perc ive themselve as m mbers of the same or of diffe ent groups d fines the situations of co-operation or conflict within the sy tem.

The primary group t which every Spa ish American be lo gs i th family The conflicts and hostilities which arise are inter f mil l a d part cul ly betwe n unrelated famil es Familie may jo n in opposition to others on one issue and oppose e ch othe on another issue Thos held together by su h int rests may disagree over a p oposed marriage In pp tion to the f mily princ ple the women of the com mun ty mak up one soc al grouping, the men another

Characteristic of the Spanish American community is the abs n e of oth formaliz d terest groups The one excep tio t this is the *P n t t* o g nizati n This is a rel g ous br therhood its members in gener l being the poorer men of th community—probably those whose interests are least well ep esented by the *p t ón* and whose influence is otherwise negl gibl The l ad of this group is called *h m no may* not *p t ó* mphasizing the brother relationship (the brother to whom uthority is d legated rather than the dominant father l tionsh p) Th *P t t* funct on somewhat in oppos tio to the establ shed Church. They bury members free th Church charges $10 Where the family *pat ón* sys t m fails to p ovid adequat ly for economic security the *P t t* take care of m mbers who are hard up making

Kl kh h 1945 op cit, pp 94 96
Ib d pp 26 28
M chel P joan and A ton Go b ud 1942 p 44
Edm nso o cit.

remote entres thes dances begin at sundown and end by midn ght. In other communities they begin somewhat later and last till early morning At fie ta times, celebrations may last most of the night. The people of the village gather at a central hall and a local orchestra plays There may be fights amo g the men outs de particularly with men who are from other villages This is true so often that t seems almost an institutionalized pattern of defence of the women by the village men. One fi ld w rker was told

> Th y do t like strangers around h re and we figu ed you better get t kn w th boys bef re y u go to d nce There are lw ys f w wh get drunk and th y tart pushing around th first strang th y see It is 't because y u would dan w th the gi ls but because y re strang r It isn't bec use you e an Anglo th

Church services school meetings political rallies and *fiestas* bring the whole village together The church service is not, howe er highly developed as a social occasion It is an au thority tuation. Wh n the service is over the women go directly home The men may stop to vis t or to warm themselv t the fire in front of the hurch

School meetings political rall es and *fiestas* are different. The Spanish Am r can ent rs into such community activities without obl g t on, and without typ cal Anglo restraint and self-consc usness At a rally the *pat ón* is seeking favour mo e th n dispensing it He identifies himself with local interests All the time we are for the People and against the Publ c

F ta t the occasion wh n the patron saint is honoured a d cel b at d t traditionally a time of col u and ga ety The hon ur f the vill ge is involved in honouring the patron sa nt is herı h d mo than app l d to less a p nt and the role m y vary with th tuat on At *fi t* time the s nt s herish d mo e than appealed t less a *pa nt* and mo a *b th* Festi t es are much in the spirit of baptismal r w dd ng celebrations wh n a ew member is added to the f m ly but n la g r scale F asting and dancing go along w th l gi u observati n The people are gay and there may b m who ggr ssive

F t d monstrate most clearly that the Church does not funct o simply s n t rnal a thority in Spanish Ame ican cult The S' , re of the vill ges. They are both rever d a d b lo d Th ugh them the s nct on of the Chu ch as n t tut n are pe son lized and t anslated into the sanct ons f th f m l r c mmunity And the relation to the saint is a pe nal o imbu ng daily life so naturally that only the

R m h P ec p o
Fdm so p it
Ib d.

they plan to do something give answers like Right now about two or fou o clock

Work for wages r in the fields f m tendance for child winter breakfa holds eat only Childr n may g ... t breakfast and s t down ... t four to their first meal at noon In the spring the head of the f m ly m y ask to have dinner served when he comes home f om w rk t four The ch ldren will probably be fed when they return from school at about five

Th e is a round of seasonal activ ties correlated with the s cr d calendar and set within this est blished framework But a definite f ture d te unrelated to the patterned round f tivit does not ha e much meaning

Spani h Ameri an cultu e puts its major emphasis on the est blish d pre ent Things are as they are because "These r th ustoms The past is not vene ted t validates the p esent and the future is exp cted to be like the present An ob rve has called th s the *m ana* configurat on But to t anslate *m* as t morrow leads to m sunderstand ng Th Spanish American does today what can be done only today he does not put th t off till tomorrow But he frequently does put off the th ngs which will bring him future benefits whi h can b put off for *m nana* for tomorrow or any date in th futu

The e is l ttl pla e for planning in this framework. Gather ings celeb t o s a us ally spontaneous Child en are sent f om h use to h u e announc ng the dan e or the *fi ta* or the p d borrowing implements or crockery asking fo help Th gh Angl way seep ng into the vill ge through th school and thr gh wag labou ar i trod cing the need fo planning p i te lif still appears to run along the old po t neous lines

Th orie tation f th Spanish American *pat ón* i not g tly diffe ent although at fi st it appears to be It is not so m h th t he look t wa d the future but that he takes m e d a t g f the p esent He is an opportunist—not a pl n r a v s o ary For h must not only make a l v ng he mu t m t n *l h* the ho our of his family and of h ll g H mu t th fore perf rm with distinction in wh t e t t n may arise as t arises

Ib d pp 18 19
P d Go baud p t. pp 28-29
Ib d pp 1-42
Kl kh h 1941 p t. p 19
Ib d 27
Klu khoh l l op it. pp 17 18
Edm nso op

even for more everyday activities This is much preferred to wo king separately at the same tasks. Tools of work are likewise sha ed. Co-operation on some occasions involves the whole village. "Though a man can be forgiven for a clandestine affair he will long be condemned for refusing to lend his farmin tools to a ne ghbour or for failing to appear for annual clearing of the irrigation d tch" Working for oneself and not for an employer is thought of as desirable because then one is free to work t one s own tempo a littl rest a little." Trad

in o nn

(ik were both in the nature e for work ccording to the demands of the present.

FOOD AND NUTRITION

Chillies beans *t rtillas* and coffee with milk and sugar make up the typical Spanish American meal. The main body builder in the diet is cons dered to be the cereal food and green vegetables and meats are a relish, a luxury food, eaten for the sake of their flavour alone

The Spanish American raises his own chillies and blue corn or wheat for *t tilla* flour Home gardens also provide a wide vari ty of vegetables in season and onions cabbages, peas potatoes, turnips carrots, etc. which can be stored for use through the winter In small orchards peaches apples and apricots are raised. Each household keeps a few chickens. On a festive occas on an old hen may be killed and eaten. A p g may be sl ughtered in the fall, so that pork and bacon are a ailable for a time. Beef i the main kind of meat eaten, usually ground up in chilli. Milk is generally just for bab es except f r the littl taken in coffee Only a few households own mil h cows Cakes, cookies candies puddings are served on ce emon al occasions

Food in the Spanish American household is set out when people want to eat. The father may ask that a meal be served. Oth rwise t just appears Men may or may not eat first, and often n t everyone present eats at the same t me Neighbour relati es m y come in unannounced for any meal with the hous hold An important guest is apt to eat al ne with the head of the house the rest of th household and local visitors will eat later Children can h lp themselves to food at odd times

Olen Leo d and Ch les P Loomis 1941 p 19
Ra ah Project, op ci
P joan and Gouba d, p cit. p 38
Ib d.
Ramah Project, p cit.

WORK

Work is an accepted and inevitable part of everyday life It is a certain amount of trouble but there it is No need to go out after it Then it becomes *mucho trabajo* (much work) Spanish Americans are good persistent workers when they see a reason to work but they do not consider work itself a virtue It is not common sense in their view to work just so as to keep the hands occupied or even to earn money when there is money for the current needs of the family because some other adult male is employed There is no moral corruption in being idle or in staying away from one s job A worker may stay away from wage work, but may spend the day repairing a neighbour s door or helping build a hen house for nothing This is needed work and within the framework of community co-operation

Everyone is expected to do his part but there is seldom any explicit mention of expectations Duties are not discussed ahead of time and few verbal directions are given while working even where a good number of people are working together The sons usually find something to do or may be assigned duties but they are not reprimanded if they are idle.

Working hours are not specifically defined The day begins between six and seven o clock and people begin to be busy doing something Since most of the people do about the same things, according to age and sex each is familiar with the work of the other When one member of the family cannot get to work another will go instead With jobs much alike the job has little prestige value In the types of work Spanish Americans are equipped to do wages will not vary significantly as between jobs

Although there is a clear distinction between men s and women s work women will do men s work around the place when the men are away Men who are off herding or working in towns live together and share the tasks of cooking a d minimum housekeeping without emb [illegible] watch their mother at [illegible]
qua [illegible] d
mot [illegible] l
T [illegible]
conc [illegible]
[illegible] is combined the [illegible] future as far as work is "present time" orientation and a dependent psychology Relief work in the depression was not thought of as being different." No one was shamed No one was going to the dogs.

Work is shared. People do not want to be alone It is common for a number of neighbour relatives to gather first at one place then at another for butcherings or plasterings and

R mah Project, op cit.
P jo n and Goubaud op cit. p 29

even for more everyday activities This is much preferred to wo king eparately at the same tasks Tools of work are likewise shared. Co-operation on some occasions involves the whole village. "Though a man can be forgiven for a clandestine affair he will long be condemned for refus ng to lend his farming tools to a ne ghbour or for failing to appear for annual clearing of the irrigation d tch" Working for oneself and not for an employer is thought of as desirable because then one is free to work at one s own tempo I like to work a little rest a little" Traditio ally work and rest were not in oppos t on to one another but were often part of the same process There was no e ght hour work-day no special time for a s esta, no set bedtime for anyone no time for work and time for rest. Rest and work were both in the nature of things, according to the demands of the present.

FOOD AND NUTRITION

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Olen Leo d d Ch les P Loomis 1941 p 19
Ramah Pro ect, op cit.
P jo and Gouba d op cit, p 38
Ib d.
Ramah Project, op cit.

As one of the members of the community said I do not want
h t I die I will die Actually
d age.
e ages
iurder
hat an

took no lives.

The acceptance of illness apparently was supported by this p cture because when, in 1934 for the first time in memory w man died in child birth it was a shock to the community
doc for delivery

p cial n brings prestige to the patient Factors of skill

Ib d. p 16
Ib d.

agrarian economy to wage work which began over 75 years ago was the d velopment of migrant labour The famil es remained in the villages the men went off to work following a patt rn already set in ranch life under Spanish *pat óns*—the l gical direction for adjustment in the villages more depend e t on irrigation agriculture as their lands became over c owded. The land was already overcrowded in 1875 and th coming of the railroad offered a source of cash income wh ch continued on an ext nsive scale until 1929 It is esti mated that one person from each family (i e household) was a (seasonal) wage wo ker in the beet fields the m the sawmills the she p-cam bout 1900 —

A

U

ha

l ges ha e kept a high degree of solidarity uu farther from home wuuuued Though the men b auu

A second type of adjustment has been the development of crops fo market. S n e chili alone is regularly produced in surplus in the area, this has figured prominently in the change But chili has not become a true cash crop The farmer does n t sell it for money and buy goods where he chooses so much as he trades f r cred t at the local store depending on the merchant as *p t ón*

In m e r cent y ars a third trend has become increasingly evid nt. Th s the decl ne f the mo e is lated villages and th growth of larger Spanish American towns in more cen tralized locati ns either along main highway peripheral to the Anglo u s o within th m (Old T wns) Th s appears to be the beginning of rural urb n mobil ty of small household units but closer xaminat on suggests that it s actually a village mo ement. Peopl f om the same village t nd to move to the s me towns and seek to re-establish trad t onal patterns there

"Why d d you m to Gra ts?"

Beca I had l d to sow Bec u othing uld be raised

V ry dry f th L

Do y u l ke t in G ts?"

N w yes

Why?"

Beca I h l ttle l nd Bec se I ha e a hou Now I m

bl to w k l til re t l til som t mes "

Alth ugh Sp ni h American *p t óns* have lost much of their contr l f omme c al landholding to Anglo most Spani h Am r ns have tended to keep th r small acre ges for house and ga d n A striking number of fam l es that have moved

C err

Depa m *Ec* l Agr cul re) *mic Ser* N 19 1937 pp 2 3 (S L ited States

R mah P ject p cit.

a i family life and earlier training and are little changed by comparison

The young person who seeks an Anglo adjustment not only ne ds n w skills, h must also acquire a wholly different set of attitudes of aspiration and persi tence He must become an inter st group unto hims lf He must experience *solo* He has grown up to be a person in need of a *pat ón* and may find himself without one If he succeeds in find ng a new father figu e in the new culture then he may move further from th Spanish American way His training has been against any elf a sertion except within the balanced rivalry structure of the famil r commun ty and the competition in the im personal Anglo system w thin a framework of unpred cta bility means an increase of anxi ty If he succeeds in ident fy ing his new inte ests with an interest group in th culture then he may move farth r f w y Otherw se h

The fa
cont ol c
wh ch su
to work

coming back with g ug out of the community the awe unemployment of the d pres on. It is the young people mo e than the fathers who are the contacts with the outside world They re the stra gers at home and undermine the f the s authority they may even look down on him, if they have ad pted Anglo attitudes

The role of the mother is till one of ca e and nurture Though woman may ha e worked outside the home before he marriag t s very unusual for her to be empl yed after wa d except in domest c wo k. If changes have been tak ng pl e in hou keeping and h ld rearı g patterns they are in n way clea Old people do n t ecei e the same respect as befo but the g neral acc ptance of more trad t onal patterns as peopl ch adulthood impl es that this is mo e in the p rt cular rel t ns betwe n youth and age rather than n the total tructure Also some (old) people think that it i the g mm nt respons b l ty t tak care of them in their old g a th h ldren e not able to do so as they once we e

URBAN PATTERNS OF DOMINANCE

Th Span sh American *pat ó* with h s opportun sm held out ly for a time am t th growth of American ranching

Ib d.

replaced the Spanish American *p t ón* in th s role which requir s th t the leader be identified with the community as well as apart from it.

COMMUNITY

In spite of the continuing decline of the small villages and the growth of large Spanish Ame ican towns the Spanish Amencans continue to depend upon their commun ty relationships f the r pe sonal security This is the setting of meaningful co-ope t on and competitio not the larger Ame can soc ety

For the most part Spanish Americans have identified them sel es only w th interest groups which do not cut across commun ty ties In the econom c sphere unionism has made little progress This s true up to now in spite of increasing speci lizat n of l bour There s l ttle "profess onalism in the *p r ó* group Their rel t on to the local populat on is too in lim t There are fo instance no societies of theatre-own rs w th membersh p drawn from several centres Connex ons w th other communitie a e still largely based on kinsh p In the soci l sphere some local clubs have become establ shed but there are few l nked clubs The *P n tent* with their rel gious insp rat on and w th chapt rs in many villages m ght be expected t form the nucleus of a wide sp ead ativist c movement, b t there is no ind cat on that this is happening

People do not tend to settl far apart from their neighbour relativ s to assert their independence The breaking-up of extended family ties which occu s constantly in Angl society as o e brother gets ahe d of another s not carried very far in Spanish American soc ety Ind ed it seems almost ine itable th t if one m mbe f th fam ly gets ahe d the whole ex t nded kin g oup s involved in the process and included in the be fit

Community sentim nt work again t memb rs of the group who strive to get head in the Anglo sense A *good man* is n who does not do evil—a m n who lends money a *bad m n* is on who d es not want to help the poor

Th Church seem to h ve l s community meaning but as much more mean ng in the structure of authority The priest in n larg r Sp n h American t wn having trouble getting peopl to come to conf on to buy the church new paper or to com to bi go part But a Span sh American pol tical leader n peak with final ty speaking as a Cathol c The p t o saint, dentified w th the home villages seems far less p om n nt Most local c l brat ons of the sa nt have lo t their ferv ur Secular pol t c l meet ng have incr a ingly provided the *is d' t* of festivities. Yet there are festivities st ll in

R h Project, op it.
Ib d.

come along a d say Hey you get to work ᵐ They choose to work for someone they know n preference to jobs of higher status by Anglo standards And h gher status is gained for the Span h American by wo k ng for a locally prominent *pat ón* rathe th n by climb ng the Anglo l dder of unsk lled — skilled skilled b s ness and

The id a of higher Spanish Ameri an The to a money e onomy times but this does no been accepted 'Span sh Americans seldom if ever express the y ncentives have desi e to make a lot of money and become rich There is an attitude of cceptance toward the hierarchy combined with a f ar of ostracism for stand ng out from the group th t operates to keep Spanish America out f compet tive work s tuat ons. His status n his own commun ty may be lowered rather than rai ed by a h evement—and he has no other community It is much more important to be than to do to be a good son or a good Cath l c or a good member of the village

R d with ts continuous p ogramming i well su ted to Spanish Americans who l ke listening to Spani h Amer can "folk mus and campaign speeches In the larg r communi ties there are now few or no major events wh ch bri g the wh l g oup together Th s i a striking change from village life At home the rad o is a welcome addition

Young pe ple hav taken o e Anglo rec eations but with ertain diff nces At d nces there is st ll formality in boy gi l relat n h p and it s not qu te right t ask d rectly for a date Boys nd g rl may g in separat groups to a show as befo but th y will pa off in th d rk—a s t at on defined by th cultu as permis i e From her on the n w patt rn t kes o e t i a d t and couple ome out togeth It almost seems that without the mo es the chang could never have taken pla

Whe th boy and th gi l marry and hav ch ld en how ever they m ly fath and moth not husband and wife Th ld pattern ass rts itself

FOOD AND NUTRITION

A w d ariety of new foods s a labl to Spanish Americans and a numbe ha been orporat d into the di t the ch ce has be n fl enc d by t d t nal att tud s t wa d food It is r l foods—th m n body bu ld t ad t on lly—that have been mo t acceptabl m c on pot toes atmeal b ead d ughn ts c n amon bu s Alo with the int oduct on of

R mab P ect, t.
Ib d
Edm nso op t.

the old manner but with new entertainment speeches are given in English and Spanish the school band performs but the scheduled time is disregarded and the occasion is a highly social and highly co-operative one

For the Spanish American it is still the present the known and sure which has meaning Even nativistic movements fail because the Spanish Americans want things as they are not as they were or as they should be There is no evidence that a Spanish American is interested in saving time He may buy a machine or a time saving gadget but does not become dependent on it While it runs good When it breaks down, there is no rush to fix it.

The *past* still validates the present and operates to slow the pace of culture change When a large landowner changed the source of the main ditch within his lands the decision at a meeting was against him even though it was admitted that this change would improve the flow of w[illegible] ditch thereby benefiting n[illegible] neighbours The chan[illegible] a change

Spanish Americans have come to put great stress on the idea of education but it is always for the children It is almost never for oneself! Soon these children are old enough to go to work then to marry and settle down They want education—for their children The *manana* pattern carries along And in school the teachers have found it very difficult to motivate these children as they do the Anglo children in terms of future benefits—grades or better jobs or higher standards of living

The persistence of this orientation to present time in the face of the equally persistent future orientation of Anglos is central to the whole process of Spanish American acculturation

WORK REST AND LEISURE

Spanish Americans have gone to work in the larger economy but they have not absorbed the pressure to keep bu y They do not look forward to time off but incorporate the r leisure with their labour They work by the clock only when they work for Anglos and if they have leisure they spend it in visiting the men on the job in streets or at bars the women at home Anglos consider Spanish Americans lazy and hence in large part responsible for their own difficulties Spanish Americans consider the economic pressures of Anglo society responsible for them

Spanish Americans react unfavourably to impersonal employer-employee contacts In Albuquerque the boss would

M rriott, op cit, pp 182-84
P joan and Go ba d, op cit, pp 22 23

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III CROSS CULTURAL STUDIES OF ASPECTS OF TECHNICAL CHANGE

AGRICULTURE

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Th imm di te need for agricultural changes arises from the

-- eformed credit system, the land

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RELATIONSHIP TO THE LAND

The relationship to the land s twofold tenure and agricultural cti tv W thin this relationship is often incorporated a man s h Egypt an

Omer C Ste rt, 1950 p 27
M hamed M Shal by 1950 p. 7
Edmund d S Brunner and thers 1945 p 79
V rgini Th mpso 1937 pp 456-66
Brun op p 79
Tann us 1950 op cit. pp 268-69

companying measures for a reformed credit system the land will gain be concentrated in the hands of a few within a few years.[1] And since change is proposed in the interests of human w lfare it is important to see to it that it is introduced constructively or at any rate with a minimum of disruption and destruction of established interrelationsh ps and values Basic attitudes concepts and values are therefore here cons dered.

RELATIONSHIP TO THE LAND

The relationship to the land is twofold tenure and agricultural activity Within this relationship is often incorporated a man s religion and entire way of life The agriculture of the Egyptian fellahin, as Shalaby says is a highly integrated way of life that deeply rooted in centuries of tradition. It involves per sonal emotional express on, family ties religious sentiment, soc al intercourse and firmly established hab ts of behaviour [2] In most parts of the world farmers have lived in villages close togethe whil their fields have been scattered around, some times far part. In regions such as the Middle East, a village is a tightly knit community in which most of the members are related, help one another in need and work together in com munal undertakings. For such people the s gnificance of land goes beyond ts economic value It figures strongly in many traditions and is the object of strong emotional attachment. In terms of eithe relationship tenure of land or agricultural activity man often sees the land as a kind of nourishing moth or as something to wh ch he belongs In Middl East ern villag s there is always some part of the land that belongs to the vill ge fo ever it cannot be al enated This is a common attitude toward land among Pacific peoples sometimes it is p ese ted in the everse form, in that man cannot be alienated from the land, as among many Australian tribes and the Ara pesh f New Guinea. In general the attitude of belonging to a pecific piece of land is common even among peoples who l a home for long period as the Greeks do

When man has ownership rights over land they may take a variety of forms The own rship unit may be the tribe as in the cas of the grazing l nds in Saud Arab a, where agricul ture and ind dual ownership re b ng introduced tog ther It may be th village apportioning land for family use it may be the family including a number of adult m n o t may be th ind vidual Th re may be a comb nation of different types

Omer C. tewart, 1950 p. 27
M hamed M. Shal by 1950 p 7
Edmund d S Brunner and thers 1945 p 79
V gi Th pson 1937 pp 456-66
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T ou 1950 p pp 267
\ rn Elwı 1939 pp 106 7
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practising griculture as they kn w it, and they refrained from cutting many of the trees not as a conservation measure but bec use the trees were sacred In the Trobriands as among the Ti th m gical activ ties in griculture were performed by the he d fo the social unit and by all the members of the social unit.

In order to enlist the co-operation necessary to carry out the new measures understanding of the existing patterns as well as careful d catio is n eded In Egypt and Arab Palestine the proposed co-ope atives are presented as the continuation of the trad tional village co-operat on In support the Koran is cited, and the danger of the loss of l nd without co-operat on stressed w th references to pec fic cases of such loss The religious objecti n that co-oper tive credit societies charge interest on loans going against Ko an law is counteracted by the gum nt that the int est charged is for the purpose of mutual aid whi h is enjo ned by the Koran In some of the Middle East countries however as n Greece the government over looked the existing patterns as well as local leadership and respons bil ty introducing co-operation through the central governme t, patterned afte the foreign concept and the re sults ha e not be n good In isolated instances as when the N r East Found tion in tituted projects in Macedonia after a programme of educat on there have been outstand ng case of co-operati a tiv ty Not one cent of the half mill on dollars wh ch the Ne r East Foundat on spends annually in G eece goes t hi e labou it spends money on educati n until the vil l ees co-operate freely in the improvement of the r land, sani tation r wate -supply

One form of co-operation particularly relevant to agricultur al chang is ba ed on the comm nal ownersh p and working of the land Opin on s d v ded s to th v l e of this On one hand communal ownership as ures the unb oken tracts of land necessary t the eff ct e appl cat on of ome of the proposed cha ges particularly for the use of mech nized equipment in gen l it means economy of eff rt. F r example the FAO miss on to G eece recommends the wide use of strip farm ng on th hills with alternate strips of grass land and cultivated land laid horiz ntally but the hillsides a e ow ed in narrow trip of land runni g ert cally The trip farming chequers a man s scatte ed strips into tiny pieces the cultivation of wh ch is neconom cal A communal ownersh p of the hills de would a oid this wa t The Panama ns re t ind idual ownership of land, ev n wh n the government off rs it to them as a free grant. They believe the la d belo gs to th peopl and that indi iduals can only have its use if they are told that "the

T mous, 1944 b p cit. p 143
Apostolos Ko kinides 1948 p. 113

ACCEPTANCE

In many parts of the world we find cultures adhering to the bel ef that man has no causal eff ct upon h s own future or the fut e of the land God not man can improve man s lot. This v ew is held in different forms from the attitude of the Ifugao f Luzon who believe th t m n has absolutely no effectiveness of his ow so that each step of each act has to be given its eff cu ess by a specific god to the acceptance of events as God s will o the working of fate which we find in Latin Ame i a and th Middle East It is difficult to persuade such people to use fertilizers or to save the best seed for planting since man is re pons ble only for the performance and the di me for the success of the act.

ADAPTATION

In many groups we find the att tude of do g with what is the e rather than hanging it of oping rather than fixing Such people ee no reason why anyt ing should be done about it. When t ad tional methods produce some crops maintain a measure f h alth keep some f the so l from running off or whe cow has some yie u t i b tte to pe w th the short comings acc pt the inadequa es or conven ences than to ff ct a d turb g change in f ct it is poss ble that adjustment s su h an automat c re ct on that the inadequacy is not even noticed It is difficult to pers ade people with this att tude that refo estati is necessary until t s too late to do anyth ng about it th y adjust to a poor yield or to the d minished vig u r milk-supply of their cow until th situation may de v lop beyond the help of man.

LOVE OF THE WAY OF LIFE

All of these attitudes a of course related to the positive val e wh ch the tradit onal way of life holds for many of the people Wher this is paramount change is e ther res sted or if accept d it s k pt alo g the fringes Chang s wh ch increa e income and a e ntrodu ed in th inte est of an improvement in l ving st ndards are endered neff ct ve by this att tude Increased inc me accord ng t reports is often squand red wh l th standard of l ving ma ns the same Labour a ing devic s have been known to releas t m f r prost tut on In Span h American communit s in New Mex o extra income

A th L Whet en 1948 p 280
A Ea t Foundat 1949
R por J A FAO M p 7 R F B to 1946
T nous 1944 b p for G
t p 143 Wh ten op cit p 140
R be ten op cit pp 234 236 Wh ten op cit p 303

the function of preserving moisture In Greece the wheat in fertilized fields did not resist the drought as well as the wh ther fields and the experts etes sho ld be plai takes of th s sort a take the risk of tr those who beli ve in tried and proven procedure alone y shake the faith of

THE VALUED

Programmes for impro ement are sometimes rendered in effect because of fa lur to take account of what the people specifically value Values may rang in intens ty from strong p f rences to highly emot onally charged attitudes of a reli grous s gn ficance Spanish Americans in New Mexico should be shown how to grow more productiv vari ties of med um sized cabbages rather than to grow large cabbages because they do ot like very large vegetables However it would not very seriously disrupt the culture if they w e persuaded to grow larger varieties At the other end of the sc le we have the r l g ous st tus of the cow in India and Africa Here we have t find a way of helping without taking away from th people their f th and th mea ing of life If the sacred cows are al lowed to eat the crops unmolested wh le the people are on the br k of starvation the agricultu al expert can give aid in mak g the l nd mo producti e nd introduce crops wh ch cow do not l ke to eat, as was d ne recently in Mahwa of the Un t d Provinces by Hora e Holmes If th H d peasants will not make ch ese because th s requires rennet from the f urth stomach of a yo ng rum nant we m ght concent ate on fi ding a synthetic sub t tute or on find ng a diffe ent way of process ng m lk. When H ndus in need of nutrit onal improve me t ha e refused to e t ggs becaus it would destroy l fe the experts have introduced unfertilized ggs as vegeta ian ggs first howing th t they d d not show any s gn or pos bil ty of l fe

In Africa, in the soci ties where cattle constitute wealth and re k ll d only o ceremoni l ccas ns and are given in com pens ti n for inj es and fo wom n taken as brides over stocking annot be stopped unl ss thi central mean gful area of th culture is chang d Am ng people who combine

R p E m 1946 pp 282-83
T me op f k FAO Al io for G ece op cit p 136
D t So l des 1949 p 74
Brun er L p 88 p 26

SOIL CONSERVATION

Cont Ploughing

In Africa this goes against traditional ways and makes a break in continuity w th the valued ancestors who sanct on the traditional methods Howe er this same sanction of social co tinuity was used effectively in the introduction of contour ploughing in French Africa men were persuaded to use the ew m thods in order to pass the land unharmed to their descendants. In Greece where people have 'to be shown the Near East Found tion had terraces made on a h lls de which tood when the rest of the land was gull ed during a torrential rain.

Measure against Overgra. g a d Burning Fo ested Land

These run counter to the princ ple of livestock as value rather

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T yl d thers op cit. p 15
E. N Corbyn 1945 pp 188 89

rorporates the values of the society Improvement of breed
N ho nd is in

Agricultu e experts m ntion the need to teach the val e of
f ... However

INTRODUCTION OF CASH CROPS

but it would mean personal reorientation as well as a change in the valued relationship structure Again because of the ex tremely short ploughing season it is necessary that there be no delays an iron plough with brittle shears needs frequent

strips treasu d because of location or ancestral association the p oject fell through.

In some areas it is uneconomical to introduce mechaniza tion because human labour is che per and remains cheaper because the people themselves place a low valuation upon it. In Indonesia the workers fatalistically accept the fact that the rate of pay for buffalo labour is twice that of human labour In the Philippines where more than half the holdings are less than two hectares farming occup es only about 75 e ght h ur days of the year for the peasant, and the absence of a diversified economy means that there is no othe sys tematic wo k to occupy a man. E en if it were poss ble

at uy p t, p 152
Ibid, pp 90 176-89

It is uncommon in the less sophisticated areas where mixed farming is still practised. In Africa industrializat on has often m ant the disruption of the agricultural cycle since the men, who traditionally helped at certain key points were now away earning wages and in many sect ons this has m
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city in good condition, and they must be sold at too h gh a price to form a bulk it m in the d et of the ordinary city worker Kats gra writing on food in Athens describes exactly such a co d t on among people who when in their native vil lage had eaten m inly fruit and vegetables.

Again the inc ease and concentration of population has sometim s destroyed the very sources of the food. In Greece after deforestati n came the use of manure for fuel which resulted in less fertilizer and poorer crops In Liberia the bush in the *hinte land* has been progressively cut down and this means th t the game which furnished most of the meat, has disappeared accord ngly

In ma y area overpopulation has meant overcultivation and the poverty f the soil has been reflected not only in d m n shed return but also in crops deficient in essential min rals It has meant soil e osion and the carrying away of the top s il a silt so that farmers as in Korea have to go now to th mouths of treams to scoop up the land by the h ndf l and carry it back to grow the r food

Not ll difficulties in the realm of nutrition are due to con tact with Western c vilizat on however In the Middle East and the Fa East fo exampl nutrit on is affected by the lack of m thods for p eservat on Any animal slaughte d must be con med immed at ly since there s no refrigerat on and methods of storing are lmost c mpletely lacking There is some sp ead of me t through the year howe er nce anyone who slaughters must invit guests to a feast t help him finish the me t and th s me ns that he in turn will be in ted to eat when his guests k ll their own an mals In Ruman a when c ttl h d to be killed b cau e of a three month drought, the meat had to be con umed immed ately or ot. We also find here and elsewh r that fruits and egetables are not pre

H C Trow ll 1950 pp 161-63
A na K gra d.
C S Stephanides 1948 a.
Do Loope 1950 p 113
E. J Bell 1950 p 162 Afi I T ns 1943 p 252 Afi L T mons
194 p 0
K tha Koenig 1949 p 176

To introduce adequate nutrition it is important to bring about changes that are in keeping with the established food habits of the people and are acceptable within the framework of their value system. In most societies food is the focus of emotional associations, a channel for inter-personal relations, for the communication of love or discrimination or disapproval; it usually has a symbolic reference. Therefore unless the place and the function of food, its preparation and consumption within the total culture are taken into account, the introduction of change however apparently limited and harmless, can be very disruptive. For example in the United States in the South mothers cook food the way each child likes it, compensating for the poorness and monotony of the ingredients and any change in the preparation of food would introduce change in personal relationships. In some societies the breast or other food is offered to the child after punishment. If we persuade these people to offer the breast only at scheduled feedings, or teach them that it is harmful to eat between meals we have made ourselves responsible for finding some way in which the mother can give reassurance and acceptance to the punished child. Again if we teach mothers to nurse their babies according to schedule we run the risk of having the baby sleep at a distance from the mother who cannot then exercise her customary watchfulness against smothering, getting cold, falling into the fire or out of bed.

In some societies where meals end with a sweet dessert, mothers withhold dessert as a way of punishing the child; this results in a devaluation of that part of the meal which contains the main elements necessary for nutritional balance and the child has to be urged to eat them because "they are good for him. Yet mothers depend on this form of punishment and will resist attempts to change this stress on the dessert. Again where milk and pulped food are associated with infancy men will resist the drinking of milk or eating of pulped foods in special diets which call for them. Where home and food are strongly identified children reject the school meal, and men th m al at the plant, and business concerns in such countries often give their employees a longer lunch hour or arrange the work day in such a way that men can eat their meals at home.

Nutritional precepts have interfered with patterns of caring for children or of personal relations with the husband. Housewives may be urged by the nutritionist to cook vegetables just before serving so as to preserve the vitamins, and by the child-care specialist to bathe their children at this time or read to them. This is also the time when the husband, away at his work all day, comes back eager for his wife's exclusive companionship.

A study made by the Committee on Food Habits of the National Research Council in the United States during World

To introduce adequate nutrit on, it is important to bring about changes that ar in keeping with the establ shed food hab ts of the people and are acceptable within the framework of their value system In most societ es food is the focus of emotional assoc ations a channel for inter-personal relations for the communication of love or d scrimination or disapprov al it usually has a symbolic reference Therefore unless the place and th function of food its preparation and consump tion within the total culture are taken into account the intro duction of change however apparently limited and harmless, can be very disruptive For example in the United States in the South, moth rs cook food the way each child l kes it, com pensating for the poorness and monotony of the ingredients and any change in the preparation of food would introduce change in personal relationships In some societies the breast or oth food is offe ed to the child after punishment If we persuade these p ople to offer the breast only at scheduled feedings or teach them that t s harmful to eat between meals we have made ourselves respons ble for find ng some way in which the mother can give reassurance and acceptance to the punished child. Again if we t ach mothers to nurse th ir bab es accord ng t schedule we run the risk of having the b by leep at a distance from the mother who cannot then ex erci e h r customary watchf lness against smothering getting cold falling into the fire o out of bed

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Nutri o l p cepts ha te fer d with patterns of caring for ch ld o f perso l rel tions with the husband House wi es may b urg d by the nutriti nist to cook vegetables just befo rving so as to p eserve their vitamins and by the ch ld-c re peciali t b th ther h ldren t this time or read to th m This al th t m when the husband away at his work ll day comes back eager for his wife s exclusive com pan o hip

A tudy m de by the Committ e on Food Hab ts of the Na ti nal Research Council in th United States during World

the rural areas apparently make up for its nutritı nal defici n cies In Lowe Burma however where a cash-crop economy flourishes malnutrition is reported In general the introduc tion of a money economy has been a serious factor in nutri tional imbalance. In Africa for example a good balance had been achieved through some process unknown to us it de pended on th agricultur l cycle the crop rotation the cere mon al cycle the division of labour between men and women and between ag groups When these cycles and the d visions of labour were disturbed or destroyed the d etary balance was also go e G ven mo ey as the base for creating a meal the people have no trad tional patt n on wh ch to fall back and in fact, they usually have to make their cho ce entirely on the basis of expense and availabil ty In Greece also the rural areas th w unexpectedly sturdy health and longev ty among those who have survived th haz ds of war but the urban areas for ll their m thod of preservation and the r transportation c l ties have shown nutritional d ficiency in recent years A pediatric an writing for wom n who are at least moderately well to-d suggests that city bab es be given supplementary food earlier than v llage bab es since the village mother s milk is n be in vitam ns

Where food patterns reflect cultural structuring and values any change introduc d into the soc ety may produce im balance With many peoples as am ng th Ifugao of Luzon ex mple meat was a by product of relig ous sacrific or alidati n There was no difference i the me t consumption of oor and rich howe c t wa always the rich who k lled and d stributed the m at Whe e this ontinu ty between rich and poor has disappear d n the society the diet of the poor is thrown out f bal nc And conta t oft n makes such occa sions disappear also The Ifugao killed fowl or *carabao* only a sacrifices to buy th goodwill of the d I nd particula ly t bnb th m t gi h lth If w nt oduce Western concepts f d s ase and health and of causation we should do so in a p ogramm which tak s ac unt of the effect of these changes on the nutritional pattern

It is neces ary t kn w also the patt rn of meals during the day wh ch eat ng f in tance is un mportant ex ept as a response to hunge ? In Gr ce b eakfast is not con de d a focus of value s fam ly ritual and change ber would not introduce d sruption Th patt rn ng of ea h meal itself must also be known The Comm tt e on Food Habits found that whe e on item n the m al formed the emotionally charged focus, nutrition l h nge could be ntroduced much mo e eas ly through the ub d ary t ms In the United States f r exampl wh re meat on a pl tt r o ass rol is the central tem at d nn th ubst tute fo th during periods of short ge n not d termi ed by nutrit al int changeabil ty but rather

the rural areas apparently make up for its nutritional deficiencies. In Lower Burma however where a cash-crop economy flourishes, malnutrition is reported In general the introduction of a money economy has been a serious factor in nutritional imbalance In Africa for example a good balance had been achieved through some process unknown to us it depended on the agricultural cycle the crop rotation the ceremonial cycle the division of labour between men and women and between age groups When these cycles and the divisions of labour were disturbed or destroyed the dietary balance was also gone Given money as the base for creating a meal the people have no traditional pattern on which to fall back and in fact, they usually have to make their choice entirely on the basis of expense and availability In Greece also the rural areas show unexpectedly sturdy health and longevity among those who have survived the hazards of war but the urban areas for all their methods of preservation and their transportation facilities have shown nutritional deficiency in recent years A pediatrician writing for women who are at least moderately well-to-do suggests that city babies be given supplementary food earlier than village babies since the village mother's milk is richer in vitamins

When food patterns effect cultural structuring and values, any change introduced into the society may produce immaterial data. There was no difference in the meat consumption of poor and rich however it was always the rich who killed and distributed the meat While this continuity between rich and poor has disappeared in the society the diet of the poor is thrown out of balance And contact often makes such occasions disappear also The Ifugao killed fowl or *arabao* only as sacrifices to buy the goodwill of the deities, and particularly for disease and health If we introduce Western concepts on the nutritional pattern.

balance With many peoples as among the Ifugao of Luzon for example meat was a by product of religious sacrifice or

It is necessary to know also the pattern of meals during the day which one thing for instance is unimportant, except as a focus of a family ritual and change here would not be known The Committee on Food Habits found that what meal form the emotionally charged focus nutritional change could be introduced much more easily through the subsidiary items In the United States for example which meat on a platter or in a casserole is the central item the substitute for this during periods of shortage is not determined by nutritional interchangeability but rather

the rural areas apparently make up for its nutrit onal deficien cies In Lower Burma however where a cash-crop economy flourishes malnutrition is reported In general the introduc tion of a mo ey economy has been a serious factor in nutri tio al imbalance In Africa for example a good balance had been ach eved thr ugh some process unknown to us it de pend d on th agricultural cycle the crop rotation the cere monial cycle the division of labour between men and women and between age gr ups When th se cycles and the divisions of labour we e d stu bed or de troyed the d etary balance was also g ne Given mo ey as the base for creat ng a meal the people have no trad tional patt rn on which to fall back and, in f ct they usually hav to make the r cho ce entirely on the bas s of expense and availab l ty In Greece also the rural areas show unexpectedly sturdy health and longevity among those wh have surv ved the hazards of war but the urban areas for ll their methods of p eservat on and the r transport t on f il ties ha e shown nutritional defic ency in recent years A pediatrician writing f r women who a e at l ast moderately well to-d suggests that c ty bab es be given supplementary food a lier than village bab es since the village mother s m lk is riche in v tamins

Whe e food patterns reflect cultural structuring and values any change introduced into the society may produce im bala ce. W th many peoples as amo g th Ifugao of Luzon for exampl meat was a by product of religious sacrifice or val dati n There w s o differ nce in the meat consumption of poor and rich how er t was always the rich who k lled and d tribut d th meat Whe e th continuity b tween rich and poor has di appeared in the society the d et of the poor is thrown ut f bala ce And onta t often makes such occa s on disappe r also The Ifugao k lled fowl o *ca ab o* only as sa rifices to buy th goodwill of the de t e and particul rly to bribe th m t g h alth If we introduce Western concepts of d ea and h lth nd of aus ti n, we should do so in a p ogramm wh ch t kes account of the effect of these changes on the nutrit nal p ttern.

It is eces ary to know also the pattern of meals during the d y wh h e t ng fo n tan e is un mportant except a a respon t hu ge ? In G eec br akfast is not cons dered a focu of l a f mily tu l a d ch nge h e w uld not introd c d rupt on The pattern ng of each me l itself must al o be k w Th Comm tte on Food Hab ts found that he on tem n the m al form d the m tionally charged focu n trit al hange could be ntroduced much mo e a ly th gh the sub d ary items In the Un ted States for ex mpl wh re m t a platte or in a casse ol is the cent al tem at d the ubst tut for th during periods of short ge t determ ed by nutrit al interchangeabil ty but rather

has been useless to try to introduce unpolished rice for ex ample bec use what people value is the whiteness of the rice When an attempt was made to introduce enriched polished rice into Puerto Rico th s too was resisted, because it was n t pure white the processing had g ven it a creamy colour and only very recently when a reconstituted pure white rice has been achie ed has there been acceptance In the Far East t ha bee found that whe t will be accepted only if it is hite like rice whole wheat is resisted as being like brown rice. The special qual ty may be texture or taste In New Mexico a go ernment worker introduced a hybrid corn to Spanish American farmers and it produced three times the yield of their own corn since corn was here the staple d et, the worker was s re th t the innovation would be welcomed With in f ur years howe er the farmers had ceased to grow it as their w ves did not like the texture and no one liked the flavour

FOOD AND VALUE

The feeling whi h people ha e toward their st ple often verges on, or tually s, el gious The fact rs of value and relig on must be taken into co s d ration when availability of food is in estig ted and wh n any ch nge is contemplated Among the Hop Indians for example as among mo t farmers in Mexico corn is id ntifi d with li ing and w th the good and the attitude toward it is rel g ous Mexican Indians often cannot be per suaded to grow th ops on land whe e these would do better than corn bec use they would rather have a poor crop corn and f som thing th t is not corn. Writers

g e the b b e rn meal

On third of th t tal attle popul tion of the world s f und in I di y t this doe not me n that beef is really a ail able h O l 5 n r e t of the people e t m at t all and

the great value placed upon the future, and the equation of children w th the future but a large number of cultures value the past.

The changes proposed in the area of maternal and child care also encounter firmly established patterns of behaviour which most often are an express on of the basic patterning f perso al relations However many of

HOSPITALIZATION

Where ho ses are crowd d and ill vent lated and where san tary m asures are inadequate t has often seemed des rable to persu de wom n to go to a hospital for deli ery M ternity hospital in under-de eloped areas are few n relation to popu lation, b t t often difficult to fill even these few Hosp tals ff d by impersonal th to enter but ial is weak and one at wh ch to For maternity

A hosp tal is a pl c wher d th oft n occurs and, unless the matern ty h p tal n speci l build g th s h lds gre t h p egnant w men who must ne r s e a orpse

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Each cultur has ts own prescribed behaviour for the the ft hild birth and this i importa t for the health f moth and child or the hu band or the total

strange customs The Fr nch Colon l administration in Africa initiated a system which seems to be more reassuring
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At times there are pecifi pos t e factors making for in security It s reported that in pre ous t mes i West Africa the charms d talism s wh ch g ve a man the power to withstand evil forces were forcibly taken away from those hospitalized In Burm whe e ll gers bu lt one-storey h uses
d d where they slept
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Ale d H L b d Doroth C Le u
Albe Sch tze 3 p 5
Cha les M rr W lso 949 p 17

she must have a fire burning near her until the umbilical cor drops off The disposal of the lochial blood of the and navel cord all depend on the society s conception the body and of the continuity within the unit. Among th Tiv for example the placenta must be buried where it ca be refreshed daily with water from the baby s bath and wher it can add to his inadequate strength Among the Kgatla lochial blood and placenta must be buried where they can b prevented from scorching the earth and bringing disease to the people and where no sorcerer can work charms over them to put an end to the mother s fertility On the specific disposal of the navel cord often depends the future life of the new individual How can one be assured that all these practices will be rightly observed n

Among the
be confined in
in labour for s
they are not al
rules to abstain from eating salt and meat fresh fruit and vegetables and to be protected from the sun The hospital believes that these food items are a necessary part of the diet and its rules forbid shading of the windows where the par turient mother lies with her infant In West Africa women find it insupportable that they should be parted from their babies who are made to lie on separate cots and except when they secretly take their babies in beside them this hospital regulation is a great hardship

certain all important lochial

A missionary doctor in Africa Dr Maynard overcame the fear of hospitalization Some 30 years ago she established a maternity home which found acceptance by first carefully winning the confidence of the women in the community She first visited the women in their homes and helped them there only after her work was accepted d d she build her maternity home She invited expectant mothers to come several weeks before delivery without pay so that the babies were born in familiar surroundings She did not confuse hygiene with Western ideas of cleanliness the women were allowed to continue their habit of spitting tobacco juice on the walls

Hospitalization for delivery also presents a number of draw backs in common with hospitalization for other reasons Under British administration in Africa and Burma an indiv dual usually had to go far for hospital care the hospital there were usually conceived of as centres to come to for tre tment There was a policy of complete isolation from fr end and relatives and hospital discipline made no conces ions to

Isaa Schapera 1941 p 233
W yn D ls 1940 pp 2 29 La Th mpso 1950 55
S D On b rl 1949 p 89
Thurnwald op cit. pp 199 200

strange customs The French Colon al adm nistration in ... m wh ch seems to be more reassuring ... s were ... edicine ... ts were ... g treat ... elatives ... sol t d ... recei es ... ted only ... ing con cern.

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h e to b kept n h sp t l, w th th l rg u ... tions th y in ol e eport d s p oduci g d tress the inquis ti eness s a so of w rry nd ev n th c pturing of th perso l n me in ymbol on paper has produced fear in people who h t p otect thems l es g n t m g c Where part f the defi t o f good doctor or d gnost c n is that he h ld k ow ryth ng th q estions m ke the incom g patients d tru t th doct r who has to ask bef e h knows In a mb f cult es th ind dual n undresses com ... h t lim te may be b th d p eceme t

Al d H L h d D rothea C Le gh n, 1944 pp 56-57 60
Albe Sch tze 3 p 35
Cha les M rro W lso 949 p 17

rise to the suspicion that the doctor was a human leopard He found that on the one hand people were mortally afraid of anaesthetics which they considered as death-dealing while *on the other hand they despised the surgeon who administered* them since they thought that he had failed in his attempt to inflict lasting death In this hospital discipline was silent Order consisted in having people appear every morning for injections or change of bandage or other treatment Yet even this was considered oppressive and patients would do everything they could to avoid staying at the hospital The leprosy treatment with its long series of injections was very unpopular and lepers came only if they thought they would be given chaulmoogra oil prepared for use at home Since dysentery meant that the patient s freedom was curtailed and he was put under supervision this disease was usually con cealed by the victim as well as by other patients Non-dysen tery patients further disobeyed the rule against sharing the

Dr Schweitzer was ready to help a man however near to death he might be led the people to distrust him their native *medicine men knew enough to recognize approaching death* and refused to waste their skill on the dying thus bolstering faith in their infallibility and in addition Dr Schweitzer s humaneness meant that people were confirmed in their belief that one went to the hospital not to get well but to die These difficulties were not insurmountable and when the doctor re- turned after some years of absence his hospital was besieged

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by the clock to staying in one place continuously instead of wandering around and to efficient impersonal atten tion The Navaho cannot see why he must be fed with gruel and milk when if he were home he would be fed as much as he could eat of the best food the family could get for him He misses the undivided continuous attention he has had from the medicine man when he has been ill at home In addition his relatives often travel many miles to see him only to be told that it is the wrong time of d y for visiting

Schw t 1931 p it. p 28
Ib d p 160
Ib d pp 91 110 117
Ib d pp 28 38 39
Albert Schw tz r 1933 pp 163 64 252
L ght nd L cht op it. pp 56-57
Al ce Joseph 1942 p. 4

RENATAL CARE

In most societies pregnancy s regarded as a normal state and om n go about their ord nary occupations until the e d. H ever it is often a period of vulnerab lity for the oman, and there are rites acting s preventive and strength ening measures. These are ctually health measures since they enhance security and well be ng The Tiv woman has a num ber of *kombo* r tes worked over her and everyone around her is cleansed even of unsu pected e il intentions against t her In many societies the soc al unit itself and even the land h to be protected from the pregnant wom n who is notency power r others So a hich are essen l in the particu-

In most cultures children are wanted a d pregnancy is a des ed tate Wh re a union s not fru tful a woman often seeks m g cal or med cal d or she may be put away as useless or othe wife or co cub ne m y be taken according to th custom of the soc ety Among the Kgatla there is a bel ef th t ther is no co ception wh n the w f s blood dis grees with the husband s semen so l qu d concoction is gi en to the woman to ch nge her blood But her t is not o ly th wom who is to bl me steril ty n men i recogn zed a d s h men re gi en med cine made from the roots of p w h r d u ce ol

must not conce e du ng l ct t an w nt on f two or th ee sexual tercour when l ctat w dely sp ced howe r when s ch ye rs childr we w dely sp ced howe r not to nurse their infa ts for omen ha e been p rs d d not to nurse their infa ts for this length f t me o wh nurs ries h e been e tabl hed h h m ther i the fields accustoming

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rise to the suspicion that the doctor was a human leopard. He found that on the one hand people were mortally afraid of anaesthetics which they considered as death-dealing while on the other hand they despised the surgeon who administered them since they thought that he had failed in his attem t to inflict lasting death In this hospital discipline was sli ht. Order consisted in having people appear every morning for injections or change of bandage or other treatment. Yet even this was considered oppressive and patients would do everything they could to avoid staying at the hospital Th leprosy treatment with its long series of injections was very unpopular and lepers came only if they thought they would be given chaulmoogra oil prepared for use at home Since dysentery meant that the patient s freedom was curtailed and he was put under supervision this disease was usually con cealed by the victim as well as by other patients Non-dysen tery patients further disobeyed the rule against sharing the cooking with dysentery patients and would even eat out of the same pot with them One such patient told the doctor Better be with my brother and die than not see him The fact that Dr Schweitzer was ready to help a man however near to death he might be led the people to distrust him their native medicine men knew enough to recognize approaching d ath and refused to waste their skill on the dying thus bolsterin faith in their infallibility and in addition Dr Schweitzer s humaneness meant that people were confirmed in their belief that one went to the hospital not to get well but to die These difficulties were not insurmountable and when the doctor re turned after some years of absence his hospital was besieged by the sick who came from hundreds of m les away even be fore he had time to unpack his instruments and medicines

The doctors who worked with the Na aho Indians found resistance to hospitalization among these people who accord ing to Dr Leighton are unaccu tomed to a bed to living by the clock to staying in one place continuously instead of wandering around and to effic ent imper onal atten tion " The Navaho cannot see why he must be fed w th gruel and milk when if he were home he would be fed much as he could eat of the best food the fam ly could get fo h m He misses the undivided continuous attent on he ha had from the medicine man when he has been ll at h m In addition his relatives often tra el many miles to s e him only to be told that it is the wrong tim of day for ι ng

Schw tz 1931 op cit. p 28
Ib d p 160
Ibid. pp 91 110 117
Ib d pp 28 38 39
Albert Schw tz 1933 pp 163 64 252
L ght nd Le ght p cit pp 56 57
Al ce J seph 1942 p 4

PRENATAL CARE

In most societies, pregnancy is regarded as a normal state and omen go about their ord nary occupat ons until the end. Ho ever it is often a period of vulnerability for the woman, and there are rites act ng as preventi e a d ... measures. These a e ... enhance security ar ... ber of k mbo r te ... her is cleansed e e ... her In many soc e ... land have to be protected from the ... u t itself and even the ... so profane that she may de troy sanctity potency power or whose blood is so hot that it may wither others So a pregn nt woman has to follow regulations which are essentially based on the concept of continu ty found in the part cu-lar cultu e

In most cultures children are wanted and pregnancy is a desired state Where a un on is not fru tful a woman often seeks magical or m d cal a d or she may be put away as useless, o another w f o concub ne m y be t ken accord ng to the custom of the soc ety Among the Kgatla there is a belief that there is no concept on when the w fe s blood disagrees w th the husband s semen so a l quid con oction is giv n to the w m n to change h r blood But he it is not only th woman who is to blame st ril ty n men recognized and such m n re gi en med ci e made from the roots of pl nts wh ch h ve a ed ju ce

M ny cultures also h pract ces esult ng in birth-control and changes in ther a of l f h ve oft n re ulted n the disrupt on of thes pract ces F xampl wh re wom n must not concei e du ng lact t on nd mu t the fo e avo d sexual interco rse when l ct ti n went on fo two or three years child en w w d ly sp d bowe er when such women have be p r d d n t to rse their i fants for this length f t m o whe urs ries ha e be n establ shed to ca e f bab e wh l th m the is n the field accustom ng the i fant to no h man m lk this wo ks agai st th regulation of concept n Ag in this custom w s easier to ma nta n whe polyg my was part f th p ctu e But where polygamy has d appe d th by go ernmental interd ct on or through t t of Chri t n m s i o thr ugh other ind ced h g w p f t go against trad t onal practice rath th h th husband vi t prostitutes. Contracep-t pract es d pecial med caments a e known n a number of re h w where b rth-control has depend d upon sexual bst enc d ring p olong d l ctat on as among the P nd w fi d o trad t onal knowledge of c ntracept ves and w m n e said to be going to the trading stores asking

for the contraceptives of Western civilization. Industrialization has had an indirect effect on the size of families in S. Africa through separating couples for long periods of time, through introducing the desire to spend money on trade-goods, through increasing atomization of the social group and by giving the woman a different picture of herself. Christianity in destroying the ancestor cults has rendered it unnecessary for people to have numerous progeny or any progeny through whom to continue the social unit after death. Education has introduced budgeting and the need to educate one's children, and has brought attempts to limit families

Many groups in Africa circumcise their girls at puberty. Missionary attempts to put a stop to this practice have led, as among the Kikuyu – of as the people apparently feel that wi of their identity The i womanhood to wifehc the physical preparation for motherhood and is believed to improve the process of birth Western physicians however believe that it complicates the process of birth and gives rise to difficulties with which native midwive are not able to cope yet to teach growing girls to lose their faith in this rite m mean to destroy their image of their own womanhood and the security they need during pregnancy

There are often changes in diet throughout pregnancy. Foods which according to Western ideas are essential to maternal health and the growth of the foetus are sometimes forbidden and tho wh hi they probably nant woman of view Chan On the one h nu the nutrit ve values of many native foods are not adequately known on the other hand where traditional procedure is important any change may destroy well being. However where cash crops ha e been substituted for subsistence farming the mate nal d et s reported to be dangerously inadequate due to factors which are not rooted in the value system

Any changes proposed in the pattern of sexual intercourse during pregnancy would run up against the society's conception of the formation of the body Da ly intercourse for

Hunter op. cit. p 146 Thurnwald op cit. p. 164

performs her d ties until delivery We have reports from Oceania and Africa of omen walking many m les carrying heavy loads, just before del ery In South Africa however Monica Hunter found that all the women she spoke to complained that lifting heavy weights to the head during pregnancy caused them pain, and that the strenuous grind ng of corn flung the child about in the womb apparently they connect with this the frequency with wh ch the child is born with the umbilical cord twisted about the neck In West Africa, women are absol ed from carryin heavy loads, but are otherwise very acti e during pregnancy one of them examining maternal care, says that educated women in this group who ha e accepted the European patt rn of having others do their work but not the hab ts of sports and exercise which European women have present a higher maternal mortality-rate.

This author gives the favourable and unfavourable aspects of maternal care here as follows the woman feels secure throu h the authority of th family medic ne man who s a personal friend and who supervises the pregn cy Her muscles are acti e she eats l ttle Her genital t act has not been ha dl d during pregnancy so the danger of infection is reduced. She is used to p in. Her friends re w th her du ing de ery Against this the author sets the f ct that no one present knows how to deal w th compl t ons a d unusual presentati ns, that the e is no fresh n the del very room and th t hyg enic measures are lacking thus xpos ng the mf t to infect on

There have been eports n the p t that among so-called under-developed peoples d l very asy nd p nless These have been disc d ted If bab es a born n a fi ld two m les a ay from h me it is only be se th moth has be n following her pract ce f d ng he o d nary wo k d some deliver e unus ally easy e rywher Th fact that in the Un ted Stat s many b b born a tax on the way o the hosp tal unde th p rv io of a h tily m son d pol c man does n t m th t del eri ar generally short and p nl s Pond midw es report that a first labo r sually lasts tw d y

Sim l r rep rts com fr m all p rt of the world Th re a port f om Al k th t West rn d t has made for a narrower pelvi m g natu e women and fo gr t d fficulty duri g h ld-birth Th h l bo may be lo g nd d fficult, h w w lly find th t in soc t es wh a mother part c p t trv ly in th birth p ocess, whe e he takes no ana th t c, d wh h assumes a natural pos tion during

Hun er op cit, pp 1 6-47
On b no op t, pp 4-25
Ib d pp 32 ff.
Hunter op. cit, p 147

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Many groups in Africa circumcise their girls at puberty Missionary attempts to put a stop to this practice have led, as among the Kikuyu to a strengthening of it as the people apparently feel that with it is involved the very continuance of their identity The initiation rites at this time are basic to womanhood to wifehood and motherhood circumcision is the physical preparation for motherhood and is believed to improve the process of birth Western physicians however believe that it complicates the process of birth and gives rise to difficulties with which native midwive are not able to cope yet to teach growing girls to lose their faith in this rite might mean to destroy their image of their own womanhood and the security they need during pregnancy

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Any changes proposed in the pattern of sexual intercours during pregnancy would run up gainst the society s concep tion of the formation of the body Daily intercourse for number of weeks or month may be enjoined for the complet formation of the embryo or i m y be completely forb dder for the protection of the husb nd social unit Greek manual on prenatal care allow intercours through part of the nintl month and forbid it only because of th danger of infect on along with immersion baths

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Hunter op cit. p 146 Thurnw ld op cit. p 164

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There ha been ports in the past that among so-called under-d elop d people del ry is easy and p less These ay been d d ted If bab es are born in a field two miles away from home t i only be ause th m th r has bee fol lowing her practic of doi g her ord nary work and some d liveries a un lly easy e erywhe The fact that in the Un ted St t many bab s e born in a taxi on the way to th h pit l r unde the sup rvi on of a h stily sum mon d pol c man does not m n that del eries are generally b rt nd p nless Po d midwives eport that a first labour usually last two d v

S mil p rts com f m all parts of the world There is a eport f m Ala ka th t Western d t has made for a l rr w r pel m e n t e wom and fo g eater d fficulty duri g ch ld b rth Though l bour may be long and d fficult, how v w lly find that in oc et es where a mother part cip t s u ly n the b rth p ocess, whe e she t kes no an sth t a d wh be assumes a natural pos tion during

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On ba p cit pp 146-47

Ib d pp 32 ff io op ci pp 24 25

Hunte op c p 147

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they probably imp ove well being through s strengthening while nant woman are often not nutritive from the Western point of view Changes in this area will have to be made with care On the one hand the nutritive values of many native foods are not ad quately known on the other hand where traditional procedure is important any change may destroy well being However wh re cash crops have been substituted for subsistence farming the maternal diet is reported to be dangerously inadequate due to factors which are not rooted in the value system

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Where pregnancy is regarded as a natu al tate the woman

Hunte p cit, p 146 Thurnwald, p cit. p 1 4

God has his own plan some feel it would be courting disaster to act in such an assured way about a s tuation that holds so many uncertainties and hazards It is not merely a question of teaching new m asures then but one of educating the people to find a place for these changes in their systems of values and beliefs.

HILD-BIRTH

uth itself is strongly patt rned everywhere It may be necessary for the baby to be born in a structure other than a dwelling hut. The mother s pos tion d ring child birth is determined by the cultur She may squat or kneel or bear down on a rope suspended from the roof or she may be supported by h r husband or female relatives or friends There may be a p t filled with ashes o a pile of cow-d ng or of rags to recei e not only the inf nt but the highly charged lochial blood The baby may be sl pped to provoke crying as in the United States, r t may be gently massaged or have cold water thrown on it, o as an extreme measure a wise woman may low up its anus as in sections of G eece It m y be po s ble to keep some of these practices without harm or to fit changes into the existing pattern. Th sl p as n the United States may be an ct of frie dly agg ession just as the baby s movem nts in the womb h ve been interpreted aegress vely as kicking But in Greec a lap is an intrus on a molestat on ther is noth ng fri ndly about t, o about aggressiven ss In the womb the mbryo has not been kicking the mother it has been gambolling and to slap a new born infant may be unacceptable

CHILD CARE

In many egi ns inf nts swaddled or kept on a stiff cradle boa d wh r m me t s made imposs ble The re sons gi en f r this practi e ry from society t society and in each cas what s comm ni at d to th child through the practice varie w th th lues of the ulture Stud e of Am can Ind n hild en who wer ar d on a cr dle bo d, n comparis n w th child e wh we e not, show that such devices do ot d lay co-o di t on nd loc mot on and that they seem to gi th g w ng inf nt a feeling f security In Greece wh e p d tri an gh against swaddl ng the principle und ly ng th p ti the pos ti n of the unswaddled child in th mothe arm nd e n th rud m nts of swaddling tself h e been r tai ed nd the change seems to be accepted

H lm Gra t, 19 7 p 72 Hunte p cit. p 150
Cl d Kluckh h 1947 p 42
R th Ben

a barn r m a patt rn where security l es in the very continuity of the indiv dual with the social unit.

We tread on the same del cate ground when we try to introduce a special diet for the child In some societies it is tru the infant s diet is grossly inadequate yet in attempt n to chan e t, it is well to be aware of the areas that are to be influenced by such change If to be Greek means to eat wheat bread or to be Hopi means to eat corn meal then the infant who is making his identification with h s unit should not be deprived of these it ms of food unless this is absolutely nece s ry If to be a member of the family means to share food in a family ritual in a sort of daily communion then th harm d n by th ntroduct on of a spec al child diet may outweigh the good Reports from Greece suggest that the new diets introduced for children bring dissens n to the family tabl where to quarrel is like quarreling in church.

In sev ral countries as in the United States and Australia child-care manuals also gi e ad ce on toilet training In some cultures this training is taken casually and the mothers are not particularly aware of training their children. In others it is stron_ly stressed and is cons dered a problem s tuation In the Unit d States there has been a change in recent years, so that infants do not hav to begin tra n g for defecation at the age of 10 w eks o two months howev in most groups in this country the tt tude of d sgust at the child s excreta, the feeling th t the child has do e something d rty remains and t is consid d by many to help in forming a bas s for the patt rn of suc f cb e ement as a m ans for winn ng app oval. In Ch n and Burma toilet tr n ng s part of the process of be m ng s cially a ceptabl Moth rs report that they d n t train th ir ch ld n but they watch their children closely and atch them in time and—perhaps thro gh be ng immed at ly held away f om th nurse s body wh n they begin to d fecate—th y are ppa ntly tra ed by the time they reach th g of x months G k mothers train f micturi tion first, and fo def c ti n o ly when th baby can im tate the mothe And oth cult es l arning to def ate is often a part of th pro s f dent fi t n with the mother the child, wh n bl t w lk g w th the mother when she goes to d f t d t as she cts

M ternal care nd hild re e r ce ving attention from the g rnm t f m ny ountries In Afghanistan mobile clin cs h b tabl h d al a maternity ward which i c gly d C u tri in Latin America the M ddle East a d th Fa East port that they tra n midwives and ir e tabl h g baby lin cs m ny also report ncreasing num bers of p tal l cs l many a eas midw ves ar in close ou h w th obst tri n nd report cases wh re delivery is xp cted to presen complications so that these women at

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the assumption that this separation is a boon to the mother because it frees her from the interference of the child is open to question, since in such soc eties the family expands to accept the child, so that the child s not a disturbing or interfering factor and without the child the mother s life itself may be impoverished.

ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

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PUBLIC HEALTH

THE BODY

U ty f Function

Publ c health is an integral part of the social process," says Dr Raymond Fo dick speaking f om the wide experience of the international work of the Rockefeller Foundation. For th s re son t is difficult to isolate the subject of th s section for h re we are dealing with people to whom the issues of p blic health ar all of that and mo e they cover man s conception of good and evil of the relat onship of the indiv dual to his social unit and to the un ve se Among many people such as th H pi Navaho and Pap go of the south western Un t d States health is the express n of harmony w th the un se And h alth is only one su h xpres on it is merely an aspect f his w ll be ng hi ffective ess his luck, or his potency Th t which a s d sease might also cause failure of th ops ill luck in h nt g or ncompetence in the building of a h use as t doe to the T A Burmese villager can eas ly s ccumb to illn ss o also to any othe misfortune if his k (cumul t d virtue and strength) is low and an If gao will m t w th m sfort ne f he has not bribed the pp pri t gods w th th ece ary sacrifices as will a Tiv if he has t p rf rm d th p eventive *kombo* rites illness s nly n f such misfortunes Man s being and function his b dy m nd acti ty emoti ns and social relations are all ne a d we k es of th pe on the failu to t ke pr ventive measu es r t t gth n n s pe son may result in illness in a y of th e are

C t ty

In m y It s throughout the w rld man is continuous with hi onm t Th efo e he is not healthy unless h s en vir nm t is healthy o conversely the well being f his

R ymo d F k 1947 p 29

least can be hospitalized Many of these projects are gov ernment supported In Moslem countries however there are the vast private charitable organizations which have been responsible for care at this time In many countries such as for example Indonesia, India and among Spanish Americans in New Mexico the midwives already operating have been trained in Western practices This has not always been a completely successful programme where hygienic principles are not understood a midwife may learn to scrub her hands and then may run them through her hair In rural India midwives were reluctant to work with male physicians preferring to work with women

Again in many regions the place of the midwife as someone known and trusted who treats the patients with personal attention has been recognized and midwives have been sent to rural areas to visit women in their homes and become acquaintances and even friends before child birth takes place

Hospitalization is making headway Perhaps one of the main obstacles is overcome when special maternity homes are established rather than maternity wards in large hospitals Where child bearing is in no way equated with disease or a non normal state it is more acceptable to go to a maternity home this also eliminates the fear of being in the vicinity of dead or dying people at this critical time Such a procedure is also in accord with patterns where child birth must occur not in the family home but in a special building a pattern found in many regions In the United States the Fox Indians welcomed the opportunity to have child birth take place away from home since in this way they could avoid the responsibility for the ceremonies of purification after this defiling event

Well baby clinics child welfare stations and day nurseries are also being established Some countries however find that the child is better off in the care of the home The Government of Saudi Arabia explains that since the family is still the cornerstone of the society and brings up the children in strict accordance with the teachings of the Koran it is completely adequate and is not in need of further advice on child rearing In countries where mothers have been persuaded to leave their young children behind in nurseries when they go to work in the fields it is probably not always to the benefit of the child Where work is life and working with the mother is sharing her life and increasing one s sense of be on)

A I Pillay 1931 pp 23 24
United N tions Secretariat, 1947 p. cit. p 129

her husband is engaged upon an important undertaking will help or hinder or harm him. Such a conception of continuity of body with land and society underlies the way in wh ch medical treatment and hygienic measures are accepted and orked out.

Imag

The image of the body depends to some extent on these con cepts of continuity In many societ es it has no sharp boun daries. Different parts of the body may be stressed in forming the link of continuity In Greek culture for example lineal continuity with the descendant is envis oned as a continuity of the internal o gans th *splanchna* and compassion in Greek is deri ed from this word A mother ready to do anything for her child will say He is my *planch a.* The lateral relation ship however is one of blood my sister is my blood, and blood-brothe hood is eported to have been created between friends at least until recently in emote sections The organs of commun cation the windows of the soul are the eyes among the Greeks nd also m ng the Russ ans as well as in Latin America In Mediterran n countries and the Middle East evil flows through the yes when an ind vidual admires and covets.

Diffe ent areas f the body o different sides are assoc ated with diffe nt tiviti s In certain cultures there are very strict distinctions betw en the things that can be done with the l ft hand and those to be done with the right largely because there is a rig d separ tion between the areas of sexual activ ty and those p rtain ng to food. It is u ual to find th left hand associated with sex, the right with cooking and eating A Kg tla b rea ed p use has to eat w th his l ft hand until his contaminatio is remo ed W t rn medicin bel eves that to rehabil tate meone wh has undergon mputation is largely a matter f t ining B t in oth r cultu es it may be a matter of highly skilful ducat on in olving a reorientation of values

Certain p rt f th body e oft n more highly charged with em tion th n oth rs W find m ny gions in the M ddle East, th Far East, nd the P ific Islands where the head is ex ir m ly important often sac ed It may have to be co ered o th e may b regulat ons gainst allowing anyone to step e t n th sh dow f another head. In Bellona two hiefs learned in their d eams that Dr Lambert slept on th be h bo e th m and w ke him up since this wa harm ful to th m Th B m se illager refrained from building tw to y hous s s as to avo d the danger of having anyone o his h d. In som areas the hair s extr mely important. The Burmese vill g wash d their hair ceremonially treating

S M L mb 1941 351
Richa d C Thurnwald 1935 p 296

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Diff rent areas of the body o different s des are assoc ated ith different acti i es In c rtain cultures the e are very strict distinctions between the thi gs that can be done with the left hand and those to be do e with the right larg ly because th re is a rigid sep at n between the areas of sexu l activity and those pertaining to food It is ual to find the left hand associated with sex the right w th cooking and eati g A Kgatla bereaved pous has to e t with his l ft h nd until his contamination is remo ed Western medi ne believes that to rehabil tate s meone who has nd rgone amputation is largely matter of tr ining But n other cultures it may be a matter f highly skilful edu t n inv lving a reorientat on of values

Certain parts of the body are n more highly charged w th emotion than others W fi d many egions in the Middle East, the Far East, and th P ifi Islands whe e the head is ex tr m ly important fi sac ed. It may have to be covered o there m y be g l t ns gainst allowing anyone to step over t, r en o th shadow of an ther s head In Bellona two chi fs i rn d in their dreams that Dr Lambert slept on th be ch abov them and w ke him up since this wa harm ful to them Th B m vill ger refrain d from building two- to y hou so t o d th danger of hav ng anyone over his he d I som areas the hair is extremely important. The Burmese ill g rs w sh d their hair ceremonially treating

S M Lambe 19 1 p 351
Kirch d C Thurnwald 1955 p 296

among the Tiv it should be buried where the water carrying off the body-dirt of the bathing nfant can nou sh it Again continu ty between man and l nd is basic to the kind of substitutions wh ch are acc ptable. The Tiv for example may sub titute mud for blood in a health r te the Kgalla wife whose husband s absent substitutes mud for semen in the rite of str ngthen ng the infant.

C mp sition

In many societies the body is bel eved to be created through the mixtu e of menstrual blood with semen This is a common theory in Africa for example among the Azande Chagga, Kgalla. To create the new body repeated intercourse is necessary On this bel ef rest accusations of adultery by visiting hu bands who ha e had intercourse only once or twice with th w ves and on t also rest the fa lures of attempts at b rth control The theory s also reported from Oceania The blood and the semen a e respons ble for specific parts of the form ng body am ng the Ba enda the blood and muscl s are believed to come f om the mother the rest from the secretion of semen.

In We t rn th ught the body is often equated to a machine Americans pe k f fuell ng the body or lubr cating it of putting it in p rfect "w k ng orde of gearing it to a spec fic s tuation The Burmese used mechan al analogy but only for the ours of lif the *b o* not for the body In Gre k folk l e met phors for the body derive from trees and flowers o f om ha d cold min rals oft n the prec ous metals The analogy t a reprod ct e earth is common in m ny areas of the w rld T people for whom the body s an organic unit cont uou with nature t speak of any excl sively local treatment is bewild ring

C mpl t on

In many soc t es the body is not con dered to be complete at birth M n b t dd t it, to ncrease it in maleness or femalen ss o pot ncy r ffect nes o she r adequacy In Burma g l t d t nally could each womanhood only when he e rs wer p c d To be truly male a boy was tattooed betw n kn e a d na l The body of its own acco d was n t compl t ly pote t many Bu mese and people from the h ll tribe ns t d co s nd other charms unde the skin to enha ce the perso In Africa and Ocean a the te th had to be fil d r k ocked o t o b oken or blackened, before the body was ompl te l m ny p rt of the wo ld the body had to be scarifi d d some fo e gn substance rubbed in. This omple

Ib d p 218

ι p 193

through the motion of sp tting to w d off the effect of his own po sibly evil eye The continu ty of the person may be bas c to the custom of conferring the leavings of food on younger or lesser m mbers of the group or to the offer of half-chewed bet l nut from brother to sister as among the Tikop a It may also mean that o e s spittle must be guarded against e tlly d spos d people Among th Arapesh food lea ings are part of the body-d rt and are ca efully guarded lest they fall into the hands of the sorcerer

Feces and urin are often treated completely casu lly and the introduct on of latrines in such ca es in ol es only the neces ty of con inc ng the people of the need to guard them selves f om pollut on The e is often no disgust felt about handling a baby s bowel movement fo example a Na aho girl will sc pe out he young b other s diape and then wear t on her head if she needs a he d covering and if there is a defecat on on the floo t may m ly be ov red w th sand We fi d the ame ca ualness n the Burmese illage and the rural a eas of China and India Th revuls on felt toward bod ly fflu via n the Unit d States has gone unde the n me of hygiene but is actually deeper than preoccupat on with germs Washing in urin is eported from several areas of the w rld In many societ es u ine and part cula ly feces must be guarded gain t witchcraft, nd the Navah woman casual about the f es o her floo is ery ca ful to cover and h de the spot whe sh nd her ch ld en have gone to d fecate out f doors F rth rm n e fece p rt of the person an ind vidual ca be contam nated th ough them In certa n regio s in Ug nd pe ple fuse to shar l trines with other ind idu ls b au t wo ld p se them to infection from the fe es f th Among l bou ers in India t was found that th e wa a d ep object n to defecating in place whe e a man of l w ca te h d d f l d Here also the people of h gh c st w ll ha nothing to do w th xcreta so that hosp tals a well pri t hou eholds have to h r low r-ca te peopl t di po f x eta In Ind as well a Burma nurse usually w ll n t l an p t ents prov de bed pans necessitat ing the mpl ym t f dupl cate unw ldy staff

A m th s m lk th symbol of purity of nnocence and of k nd ess am ng th Ch m gro p is in the at g ry f excreta am g th Fo the G eek the m the s milk is a th ng p rt and the t m for the suckling of the breast is a w rd th t c t be ppli d to nyth ng else s that thumb suck ng and p fi rs re n a compl tely diffe ent category

Cl d Kl kh h 32
Do th C Le h on d Cl d Kl kh h 1947 p 40
Geo C ll d rs I 0 p 231
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A m ther s m lk th ymbol of pu ity of innocence and of k dness mo g som group is in the c teg ry of excreta amo g the Ch n se For the G e ks the mother s milk is a th g p rt d the term for the suckling of the breast is a ord th t nnot be ppl ed to anythi g el e so that thumb uck g nd p c fiers n a complet ly d fferent category

Cl d Kluckhoh 1947 p 82
D th C Le h I Cl d Kluckhoh 1947 p 40
Geo C l d 19 0 231
B A La p ll I G C R mea 1939 p 4
Go d S Se 1943 p 5

needed no urging they drank of the pure water because it was cool and clear and tasted good though not becau e of the absence of m cro-organisms A variat on of this attitude as Margaret Mead has pointed out is prevalent in the United States where people avoid that which looks or smells or tastes dirty as unhyg enic, whereas actually the dangerous germs have neither taste nor smell and are not vis ble to the naked eye.

Patterned cleanliness not because cleanliness as such is im portant, but as part of a way of life is common in many cultures A good housewife as among the Spanish Americans of New Mexico may be one who always k eps her house clean the people may alw ys wash themselves morning and evening. B t among these people this is the way to act, part of the aesthetic pictu e t has nothing to do with hygienic ends The idea that a person they love or familiar objects and sur roundings, can contaminate them is rejected by th s group In Colomb a cle nliness was introduced in the schools as an a sthet c measure In I donesia and the Pacific Islands there is frequent bathing by immer on throughout the day ap parently fo refreshm nt. In Ind an vill ges there are often tanks where the villagers can imm rse themselves before a meal Th Burmese villag r bathes after the last meal for refreshment and as part of th ritual of making himself festive for the amusement of the evening Burmese wash their mouths after every me l the Hos clean their t eth with a twig e ery d y after th ir first meal Cleanliness again, may be a ritual as with Mohammedans nd Jews Orthodox Jews must wash out mo th and ha ds up n arising and bef re eating and aft el minat o the h nds must be cle n before th y help t wa h th mouth. The water must be flowing or must be poured

F om the viewpo nt of other pe ples many Western hab ts are dirty Th British who garded th hill tribes of Burma as filthy fo taking alm st baths wer in turn conside ed dirty by th Ind nes ns f r bath ng only once a day O r Western handkerch ef us d for pocketing mucus is found re olting by umber of oth r soc et es

There ha b en co fu on amo g people of Western culture as to th m n g of dirt and cle nl nes and the extent to which th y ar lated to hygi ne And whe e new hab ts have be n p essed pon oth r cultu es w thout plan they have often r flect d th nf s n Cow-dung fo example is important in med t n some groups su h as the Kgatla and in som Ind an ill g wher t s used in poulti ing and for

H den p it p 147
F d en l Ed
Cha p
Ch er ee op p 11 M 1947 p 23
W Sm th 1946 p 588

ridiculous W th all the space around the village why should the people trouble themselves to bo e holes for latrines Where continuity between excreta and the individual was strongly felt in a region where sorcery was rampant, resistance was more strong In the mountains of New Guinea, Dr Lambert of the Rockef lle Foundat on found that the people felt safe only when they defecated in the midst of a mountain stream whose water then infected the users In Malekula he found that the fear was so strong that he had great difficulty in securing the few specimens he d d so as to find out whether hookworm was p esent In Rennell, when h s assistant first got a specimen in the p es nce of a number of people and was seen to enclose it in a cov ed box he precipitated a panic later aft r careful persuas on each man who brought in the can of specimen also wa ted and watched the doctor until he finally buried the material in the sand Another b l ef that all illness comes as a penalty from God carried as its corollary that it was wasteful to try to p event d sea e by bu lding holes for excreta

When the patterns of resistance and their bases are known it may be poss bl to utilize them for the introduct on of the latrines F r ex mple in Ug nda m ny groups were found to be afraid of us ng the latrines becau e these were fixed and known so that so rers could come and get the excreta for their hostile purp es People f lt safer when they could d fec te at andom in th bush To use latrines indiscrimi nately by w y f confound ng the sorcerer would not wo k either since the nd v du l is continuous with his excreta so that the fece of another in contact with h s own can bring about contam nati n Th Brit sh medi al services persuaded people to bo l trines f uch a depth that the excreta would be out f the so e er ach and to over the fecal matter after e ch d f at n so s to p ev nt cont m nation In one ind an vill ge two latrines w re eventu lly intr duced for each household and wer fitt d to the p ttern of illage industry in e in this way the l tri es could be used alternately o er a peri d of t m all wing th tents of one latrin to become compost d f sale a fert lize

Dr L mb rt in P p a and D Hydrick in the Neth rlands Indie f nd that wh re th re was n trong re istance to the latrin s they wer tu lly eas e to introduce than other hygi ni m a u es n hookworm was a chr n c disease wh h ld hold th ir atte t on ov r a long period and hook w rm uld b d be e n nd demonstrated t rep oduc tion t egg nd larv e c uld be pr ented graphically and dram t lly

Edmund d S Brun er d thers, 1945 p 72
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Ib d 2 3 pp 52 326 295 96 304
G lla ders
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H d k p p 231
t op t pp 32 34

deed, carelessness or s n allows evil to intrude Among some Indian tribes of the south w stern United States ev l and spe cifically dis ase can ent r wh n man has allowed h s relations with the uni erse to become d sharmon ous or the loss of harmony t if is a di ease So among the Hopi and the Papago t is imperati e to have good thoughts to avo d quar relling and ggr ss ve acts fo the m intenance of good rela tions with the univ rse—that is for psychosomat c health The ne ghbouring N vaho f llow a large number of specific regu lations for maintaining harmony and have long curing cere mon es for re-e tablishing lo t harmony

Am ng some groups disease is a pu shment for sin mainly a ainst soc ty t was therefo e an imp rtant f ctor in the mainten ce of social order Among the Saulteaux Ind ans and the Manus of the Admiralties where confe on was n ces sary b fo e cur co ld be effected d e e actually brought to light and clarified a numb r of hidden matters The whole process f getting ill and b ng cured was a m instay of society To introduce a n w c nc pt of di ease and prescribe penic ll n instead f conf ssion to p ople for whom illness has a s gn fi cant place in the uni ersal o der is often impossible or dan g ous to p ychosomat c h alth.

It is comm n to ttribut d ease to the machinations of witchcraft, evilly d spo d people or pirits the evil eye or blackmailing d t es des ring to b b b d Weak r potency amo the T v a l w k n mong the Burmese makes the ind vidual vul able to such att ck Fright is a m j r cause of disease in Mitl and t effects may be manifested years later Against a b kg ound f ch b l f work rs found t ha d to introduc hyg m a W d p ead al o th b l ef that disease ca ome thr ugh the m sd d f oth rs Among the Na ab pa t wh a c ! s of a regulat on can cause their hild to b me ill many y ars ft rwards Among the T v mi d d r l as ll int odu pollution and contami nates, and y m mbe f th un t may suff In several re gions f Afri a the birth f tw ns s a use of d adly disease and the w p l h to be solated for everal weeks and purg d unt l th t g u es is g n

Att tud t wa d t im nt r t n the concept on of health and dis The Navah may take treatment to relieve his sympt m b t h kn w he will ne r b truly w ll u til he ec h s ha m ny with th u e Wh re health is de fined n ti ung g ot n d al to be ach eved much ill health will b cepted b fo tr atm nt is sought Wo k rs am ng f llah n the M ddl East found that trachoma, and part l bli d es w re part f the p ctu e of health since th thing h d always be n present and anyway they

El Cl P rsons 1 36 pp 120-22
Thur id, p cit. pp 295 328

campaign against tuberculos s People do know the danger to which they are exposed, but they feel that to isolate the s ck individual or to take precaut ons protecting the rest of the family would be to reject a member of the family. In West Africa "the whole family would rather contract d sease and die from t than part with the infected member Spanish speaking people of New Mexico protest that no harm can come to them from their loved ones The Navaho feel that this is a time when a man needs his relatives around him they do have concepts of contamination but they also have measures for purgi g so that it is poss ble for the infectious person to join his people again soon.

R sponsibil ty for Ca of the Sick

Wh n a Burme e villager is ill it is he who immed ately sends for a phy cian for drugs for tre tment. When a Greek is ill he does not exhibit any need for care does not go to bed unless he is incapable of standing up thus exercising fortitud When a Navaho is ill, it is hi relati s who decide what is to be done and make the necessary arrangements When a Jew from Eastern Europe is ill h must b helpless go to bed immedi ately and give his relati es the opportunity to fulfil their role in the pattern of beneficence The worker who knows this pic ture addresse his ec mmendat ons to the appropriate person It is n t much use to try to p rsuad a sick Navaho to go to the hosp tal since it is his f mily who will actually make the decis on for him It is cru l to tell a G eek that he must stay in bed and d n thing f r himself t is much kinde to say this to his wife r oth r latives so that the s k one should not have to b put in the po tion of asking for this pampering

T atment

There ar d fin te pattern f t eatment in the various cultures Where d ea is nflicted by the intrus on of fo ign matter of spirit arrows o nakes o fi h sucking is a common form of tr atment. In Papua Dr Lambert found the native doctors sucking out th pirit of the bookworm and spitting t out in the form of a miniatu snake On the first contact w th Western med cine t i su l f r th ati e medicine man to be called first and fo th West rn practitio er to be called only when all els f il

Burmes t ke mainly ol ds as m dicament and have sol ds ntroduced nt th body The Navaho depend larg ly upon pointing a d use a v riety of greases Th y u e p tch as a -ni f poult nd when herbal concocti n is used t is first rubbed nt ally o the body and then the remains are

S D On ba ir p 100

campaign against tuberculosis. People do know the danger to which they are exposed, but they feel that to isol te the sick individual or to take precaut ons protecting the rest of the family would be to reject a member of the family. In West Africa "the whole family would rather contract d sease and die from it than p rt with the infected member." Spanish speaking people of New Mexico protest that no harm can come to them from their loved ones. The Navaho feel that this is a time when a man needs his r latives around him; they do have concepts of contamination but they also have measures for purging so that t is possible for the infect ous person to join his people again soon.

Respons b l ty f r Care of the S ck

When a Burmese villager is ill t is he who immed ately sends for a phys cian for drugs for treatment. When a Greek is ill he does not thub t any need for care does not go to bed unless h is incapable of standing up thus exercising fortitude. When a Navaho is ill it is his relatives who decide what is to be done and make the necessary arrangements. When a Jew from Eastern Europe is ill he must be helpless go to bed immed ately and gi e h s r latives the oppo tunity to fulfil their role in the p tt rn of b neficence. The work r who knows th s p c ture addres es his recommendations to the appropriate person. It is not much us to try to persu de a sick N vaho to go to the ho pital since t is his family who will actually make the decision fo him. It is cruel to tell a Greek that he must stay n bed and do n thing for himself t is much k nder to say this to his w fe r other relati es so that the s ck one should not have to b put in the pos tion of asking for this pampering.

T atm nt

There a e d finit patt rn f treatm nt in the various cultures. Whe e disea s nflict d by the intrus on f fore gn m tter of sp rit rrows r nak r fi h sucking is a common f rm of treatment. In P pu D Lamb rt found the native su king out th pirit of th bookworm a form of miniatu e nak m di in fi ai

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first rubb d ritu lly o the body and then the emains are

S D On baal i p 100

as poison this made sense and circumvented the necessity of determining whether the germs had true life or not. Control through elimination of insect carriers met with resistance in Buddhist societies some groups however may agree to destroy life if they are made to do so by someone who will assume the responsibility. In the destruction of plague-infested rats we find that, though such people will be unwilling to take life they are ready to abandon a village until all the rats have been forced to leave or they will lift the roofs off their houses so that the light forces the rats to leave Africans and Greeks were delighted with the dramatic elimination of mosquitoes and vermin which accompanied the DDT campa gn. Iranian farmers worried because pests were God-sent, and God might now send worse ones

Immunization and vaccination are sometimes entirely acceptable. Some societies have the pattern of introducing potency and resistance to evil by the introduction of substances under the skin. The practice of pricking the skin w th a needle is also often present. The Burmese did not resist injections when the e were first introduced for tattooing was prevalent here as w ll as the practice of introducing charms and medicines under the kin In Oceanic regions where tattooing is p evalent, D Lambert found that people came to him demanding the needle Among the Tiv vaccination is acceptable wh n the headman endorses it and this is a region where the practice of slitting the skin and rubbing something into it pr ails.

On the othe hand S agrave encountered great resistance to inoculati n among tribes in northern Burma. People deserted their villages in panic wh n they heard that he was coming to inoculate against a r ging p demic of the plague.

Physi ian

here are ertain r quis t s for the acceptable physician. Moslem w m n—except whe e change has been carefully in u ced—will n t allow thems lves to be examined by a male phy cian In Afghan stan where out of an e timated 18 to 20 pregn n es th e are often only one or two live births, and wh t ril ty and peated bortions ar preval nt phys cians cannot d t rmine th caus although v nereal disease is suspected ts pre nce cannot be det rmined becaus the women will not allow a male phys cian to look upon their faces or skin, and certainly not to c duct an int rnal exam nation. B for the hang introduced by Kemal Ataturk, Moslem

Carmen
H iser p 103
P C C Garnb m 91
H d 1949 p 619
J C C tl 1950 p 148

farmers who are victims of exploding land mines left behind by th departing German army

In Melanesia Dr Lambert found that people preferred to die of gangrene rather than have a limb amputated because they wanted to go complete to the after life lest the gods and the de d d ride them for bei g incomplete

In Burma Dr Seagrave found that the Katchin were ready and even eager for operation when they were sure that this was desirable At one time a man offered a great sword for the incis on by way of persuading Dr Seagrave who was hesitat ing over the advis b lity of operating on the abdomen saying that he would not hold the surgeon responsible if the opera tion failed. The need fo surgery however was not usually recognized by these people until it was too late For a year everyone undergoing appendectomy d ed s nce the patients came only after rupture yet they did not hes tate to come even though they knew that no one had survi ed th s operation In Africa also Dr Schweitzer found that the people were ready to accept surgery even that involving amputation and were impressed with the dramatic cure effected. At one time a man walked 300 miles to be operated on.

EFFECTS OF CHANGE

The effects of change a d of regulations intended to bring about change have som times been unforeseen Pure water campa gns di ected at the el minat on of enteric disorders, ha e actually r duced malaria through removing the source of the swamp and hav resulted in better roads as in a village in Egypt, or a village park as in a village hut tax in Africa and the scarc ty in timbe resulting f om industrialization ha e brought about overcrowding and pos- ’bly an incr s in ill health The introduction of medicine has meant a loss of fa th in the known and when the new medicines p o ed too expens ve, people found themselves without any med cin

Industrialization nd the m gration of labour as well as the opening f ads nd the establishment of improv d transpor tation, ha e m ant th t local diseases ha e been spread to areas where there was immunity F om tr pical areas in Africa, tsetse inf ction is b ought to temperate reg ons, and here th ew-comers a e exposed to cerebro-spinal meningitis and tuberculo is and tak the latter home with them. Tuber culosis in Africa has been ggravated by industrialization and

Nea Ea t F unda 1949 b op cit, p 32
Lambert, op t, p 97
Seagra e, p ci pp 28-29 49 51
W ll m Malcolm Hail 1938 p 1139
World H l h Org also *New le ter* No. 10 October 1950 p 4 (*See* United N ns WHO)

eve tual results and their ramifications. Those who d d either hailed the increase in material goods as a welfare or offered ... experien... tion of ti... when we... money to... kerosene lamp or a wooden wheeled wagon a new tool as simple as the ... u of

Industrialization is w th us to stay We may decry its effects, as did a V nezuelan ed to recently appalled at the hidden po erty of rich, industrialized Caracas Yet, "The demograph c consequences of industrialization constitute a powerful propulsive toward further industrialization rey rs bl process." And other countries, still primarily agrarian, are now drawn int the process of industrialization It is not a result of contact with Western civilization. Sometimes in introducing a programme of industrialization. Sometimes in in great publ c works and large factories such countries have introduced radical change in the standard of l ving drastically curtailing consumers goods. Usually the effects have been much more far reaching and costly in human welfare than this statement implies.

The areas of gricultural change and industrialization over lap in certain espects Large plantations usually owned and operated by people of Western origin, use large numbers of labou rs as does industry and seeing the process merely as on of money m king often exploit land and people. In Africa, pl ntations are often near the labou ers native vill ges so that ther is no accompanying disrupti n of the family and vill ge life a the is in connexion with industry but in New Guine whe e labou ers w e brought from great d stances, the e was such disruption, as well as demoralization among the larg groups of m n living w thout women and without families o villages I ddit n mechanization tself whether in agri cultu e or in industry separates man fr m the traditi nal p ocesses d t hniques of his social un t wh ch h learned as an a ... family ... ancesto... been in... ften be... dustrial ...

... as with the ... economy have ... Gov rnm ts throughout the world ha e d ne away w th the more b us ills of industrial labour Women may no longer ... of industrial labour ...

T me V l 57 N 8 1951 p 59
Irene B T be 1950 p 293
H race B lsh w 1950 p 50
Ca d d M d Sil R do 1943 p 23
W ll m M lcolm Ha ley 1938 p 699 S M. Lambert, 1941 ...
chard C Thurn ald, 1935, p 118

mental results and their ramifications. Those who did either hailed the increase in material goods as an increase in human welfare or offered romantic escapism. Even now after long experience and w th all our awareness and intensive investiga tion of the concomitants of industrialization we are astounded when we see the far reaching results of the introduction of mo y into a barter economy or of a new tool as simple as the kerosene lamp or a wooden-wheeled wagon.

Industrialization is with us to stay We may decry its effects, s did a Venezuelan ed tor recently appalled at the hidden verty of rich, industrialized Caracas Yet, "The demo- phic con equences of industrialization constitute a powerful pulsive toward further industrialization ... It is not a rsible process. And other countries still primarily agrar ian, are now drawn into the process of indu trialization as a result of contact with Western civilization. Sometimes in in troducing a programme of industrialization as a great publ c works and large factories such countries have introduced radical hange in the standard of l v ng drastically curtailing consumers goods Usually the effects have been mu h more far reaching and costly in human welfare than this statement implies

The areas of agricultu al change and industrializat on over lap in certain resp cts. Large plantations usually owned and operated by peopl f Western origin, use large numbers of labou ers as doe industry and se ing the process merely as one of money making oft n explo t land and people In Africa, plantations are often n r the labourers nati e vill ges so that the e i no accompanying disruption of the family and village lif as the e is in connexion with industry but in New Guine wh e labou wer brought from great distances there was such disrupt on as well as demoralization among the large groups of m n living w thout women and without families o villages In add tion mechanization itself whethe in agri cultu r in ndustry separates man from the trad tional processe and t hniques of his social unit, from the skills which he le rned as n aspect of his b longingness with his family r of hi identifi tion with his fath r and his line of ancest rs. Finally e e on small farms where cash crops have been int od c d th ff ts f the new money ec n my have ft n been of the same kind as with the introduction of in dustrial w ges

Go ernment thr ughout the wo ld have done away with the m r obvi us lls of indu trial labour Women may no longer

T w V l 5 N 8 1951 p 39
Ira B Tae be 1950 292
H race B lsh 1950 p 50
C d d M d S l R don 1943 p 23
W ll m M l lm Hailey 938 p 699 S M Lambert, 1941 p 21
Richard C Thurnw ld 1935 p 118

impoverishing the life of the individual and of the family? And if it does can industry provide an equally meaningful occupation to take up the released time? Again, the FAO report suggests that Greeks be persuaded to invest their money in industry so as to make industrialization possible but this runs counter to the Greek attitude of trusting only a sure thing the known present. One speculates *about* the future, not *in* the future A Greek traditionally likes his money in the form of a lump under the mattress, not as so many figures on a chart, or a number of shares of stock. And when people love their life on the land so much that the greatest gift of gratitude they can send to the United Nations is a jar of Peloponnesian earth, the displacement of the individual or the family from the village to the industrial centre could bring much d stress. All these difficulties are not insurmountable but to effect technological change with the least human destruction these problems and others of their kind must be taken into account.

Actually there are patterns in Greek life that allow for continuity in sp te of rad cal change of occupation When Greek men first emigrated to the United States they brought with them the construct of the family and the village in one sense they never left home They did not become part of the community around them and barely recognized its existence They w re wo king for the family they had left behind, spending on themselves only what was absolutely necessary since they we e earning family money money for a sister's dowry or a brother s education or an additional family field W th this background to give them stability and with the strong feeling for personal fr edom they could take up a completely nontraditional occupati n that of restaurat urs without disruption, an occupation that d d not demand obed ence to the external authority of n employer and in which the structured relationships of th family could be reproduced. Thi was also true of Chinese emigrants who sustained by family continuity could safely be away fr m home for many years and take on the non traditional occupation of laundry m n.

MONEY ECONOMY

Here we must distinguish between the presence of money in a commun ty and m ney econ my For example Burma traditionally h d ssentially a subsist nce and barter economy although mo y was n use Money was not used to create more m ney o t fou d a fortune or to make the individual independ nt f the family and the earning of money was in d ntal t l ing it was not an end. Linton reports trying to buy th ntir stock of p eces of raffia cloth from a trader in a M dag mark t t w and of being refused on the gr und that th trad r would be bored through the rest of the

INTRODUCTION OF NEW TOOLS

New tools are be ng introduced whether in agriculture or industry to sa e l bour or to increase product on, or to im prove a product but the *ch nge they effect often involves* much mo e than this Where technology is s mple the tool is an extension of the body the shuttle elongates and refines the finger th mallet is a harder and more powerful fist The tool — bod h n es and intensifies

an operat on when she ten—by the I pounding mallet or the feel betw en her fingers—that the proc ss was c mplete In the factory she i asked to adjust her — ... the fact ry to

H D F g 1937 pp 3-4
S dney W M tz 19 1

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EFFECTS ON HEALTH AND NUTRITION

Th a t paid to the health of workers lim ts itself as a

permitted to be so low that they do not ass e an q e subsistence for one discour ging the workers from bringing

thu making xtra m ney for them lves And w er p oyc s b ak the law ot d libe at ly but n ignorance the effect is th ame B c to this co d tion is not m rely industrializa

Th I d I f h Af 1937 p 4 f.
Hailey p ci pp. 1120 21

Mexican wage-earners The incentive to improve subsistence by wage-earning is reported l cking in many parts of Africa In the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan when peasant proprietors found their incomes increased to un ccustomed amounts they did not know what to do v ith the surplus and spent it hiring others to do their work Their incomes had been increased

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th e d for sp d wh ch th se mplements rep ese t they may b ly m dern c n ences to the e p ople The exact

H ley p ci pp 604 5

F p pp 6 7 38

M iz op

Th mpso 1937 pp 456-66

hibitions of fertilizers a d insect pests matters to which the go ernm nt att ches superstitious importa ce[m] In Turkey there was a shortage in qualified labour and low efficiency of unskilled labour because the worker simply did not like industry and did not remain long enough to be trained preferring to go back to his agriculture.

INDUSTRY AND THE SOCIAL UNIT

Industrialization affects the social unit in a variety of ways u h the struc

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th man h d to le ve h m to make money to buy cloth for hi wife who h d eased to fit the tradit onal p cture of a wif In many parts of Africa the introduction of factory

industri w so t p oc l m y l which becam inc gly important, and after the local in d tries themsel es d sappea ed, the e were no goods to sell t p cu e m ey since cattle had a value beyond m ney so th t c h ops and w ge-labour were the only answer w th ccompany g di ruption in living patterns

Wh n m n forced to l e the vill g to earn wages the co m c nt rrel t nship is gain affected In Africa, in reas wh men used to lop off the bran hes f large tr es to burn as f rtilize f r the garden the yo g men are n w b nt and lder men must take on this work, with the

O H Sp te 1941 pp 75 90
H iley p cit, pp 1408 1420

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to support the man wun j g
back, so the standard of living deteriorated. Without the u a the home lost its place as an educational unit and there was no way of passing on the values of the society to the growing boy With the dislocation in family life the displ cement of authority came demoralization Young girls unwilling to stay in villag s w thout men followed the men to the cities where they often became prost tutes

Some idea f the sheer depletion of the villages can be g ined f om the figures on migration. In 1933 it was esti m ted that 62 per cent of the able bod ed male population of the Mikuyu and Kiambu, 74 per cent of the Nand 43 p c nt of the Lumbwa left the reserves as labourers the mid thirties 50 per cent of the families in heet had

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In Chin in the twenties it was found that the largest per ce tage of the men migrants stayed away three years In men who w k as l bourers on plantations may

migrating family
m k the most successful adjustment, but this s only true whe be ause of the system of relations previously in opera tio or th pr gress ve changes which ha e t ken place which h l d t su h a system the immediate fam ly is not too integrally knit to larg structure which provided for its f ct on

for the long absences of the men when industrialization came with its demand and lure for men. D vision of labour had been basic to family life and agricultural work so that these were di turbed The loss of production was not balanced by the w ges the men earned since these usually were spent to support the man while away, or to buy a few gifts to bring back so the standard of living deteriorated. Without the men, the home lost its place as an educational unit, and there was no way of passing on the values of the society to the growing boy With the dislocation in family life the displacement of authority came demoralization Young girls unwilling to stay in villages without men followed the men to the cities, where they ften became prostitutes

Some idea of the sheer depletion of the villages can be gained from the figures on migration. In 1933 it was esti mated that 62 per cent of the able bodied male population of the Mtkiyu and Kiambu 74 per cent of the Nandi, 43 per c nt of th Lumbwa left the re erves as labour rs In China, in the mid thirties 50 per cent of the families in southern Sh ntung western Hupeh and northern Anhwei had been affected by internal migration usually by having some m mber leave

The effect of the migration as we have seen differs accord ing to whether or not the centre is at a gre t d stance If it is distant, th men may stay away several years at a time In China, in the twenti s it was found that the largest per centag of the men migrants stayed away three years In Africa, the men who work as labou ers on plantations may go only f r the day at any rate are usually able to return aft brief absences

In some es the whole family m grated Ord narily the migrating f mily that is the migrating immediate family make th most successful adjustm nt but this i only true wh b use of the system of relations p eviously in opera tion o th p ogress change which hav taken place which h e l d to uch a sy t m the immed ate family is not too integr lly knit to a larger structure whi h p ov ded for its m mbers a m jor p port on of its emot onal sat sfact on Th Gre k m grating family manages to keep its em tional bala ce thr ugh keeping in close touch with the rest of the rel t hip unit, o as in the United States th ough repro du g the vill g relationsh p in the Greek community of a j g ty In B azil where m gration of rural famil es was comm m gration tself was not a disturbing factor

H ! pp 704-5
Ed H Smith 1934 pp 333 34
A m tch p cit p 203
H \ ts 1938 p 156
El D Chappl personal communicati n.

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s of known associations ge or to its vicinity u of industry s

f r less disruption and at the same time within the frame-

crease in income needed for rais ng the associational ties will make

Village industries can provide the standard of living the in-

tandard of living and can fill the funds for rais ng the

c afts give w y to manufactured gap created when handi

part, be the answer to the m chanization goods They can also in

oft n rel ases time for whi h there of agriculture which

in many villages in India, China, is no provi on As it is

farmers are actually partly and the Philippines the

lages t s estimated that unemployed. In the Chinese vil

nemployed fo periods the farmers and farm labourers are

The introducti n of of six to eight months a year

out difficulties. In I dia village industries is not, however with

not want to be organized t is found that the villagers often do

created units D monstration into new co-operative units or any

products is often not effective of the advantages of the new

does n t stay l ng enough since the demonstration party

imp ss on n people who in the village to make a lasting

d as In China, in 1935 need a long time to assimilate new

Kia gying was working havoc village industry in the d strict of

introduced the women had in family life Before it was

th m n in the fields and had spent much of their time helping

their pinning and weaving raised silkworms they had done

hom knitting with a hand only during their free time When

kn tted late into the n ght by machine was introduced women

had to spend so much of kerosene lamps and since they

y ung children they had their time caring for old people and

th family but ate at no time even to eat their meals with

wh n the h me industry their work. In times of crop failure

the loom had to be bu y was the only means of subsistence

loom in the house ll the time if there was only one

had to w k at it in This meant that members of the family

nom c solut on but hifts 24 hours a day Th s was an eco-

southern Hop i also n that failed on the social level In

merc aliz t on had b in the 1930 s, it was found that com

the ll g n t the ught a shift in powe and authority in

and dministrators farmers and produc rs but the owners

pol t al powe were th ruling gr ups "The centre of

Sbrim N ra f the village has been defin tely shifted from

E ich H Jacoby 1949 p 189 Ag rw l 1949 p 184 Chen Han-seng 1947 p 62

T Bheemach rya, 1949 pp 12 13

Lo-Chun p cit, pp 239-40

particip tion in the work involved in making a living in community work and ceremonials as well as by giving him ... som soc eties this training was sup- ... schools for boys or ... often at adolescence ... edge needed to enter ... of education was the

... 1 particularly because ... function of education

... outlying village hav ... for building them trade goods on which to spend them and often the destruction of nati e industries with wh ch these goods competed thus taking away the livelihood of the crafts men. A des re for trade has become an incentive for cash crops introducing an imbalance in the agricultural process ... hed ... d of its fertil ty and even of

... repair the destruction alre dy introduced a d beyond this to m k t pos ble f r the peopl s if they choose to take their place in th community of nat ons and to take advantage of the progress of science and technology in improving their tandard of living

If the new ed tion is to fill th place of the old it has to

... it is to te ch not only new ways but the need and the incen ti e for new w ys For the control of water borne disease f r example, we must teach villagers not only how to boil

Rich rd C. Thurnwald 1935 pp 236-38
Robert Redfi ld, 1943 pp 642-45

their water or dig wells and install pumps we also have to teach them how to recognize the need for this to stop accepting all water as water and therefore good to recognize that *some* impurity in the water makes it bad and dangerous to health It is not enough to offer a change or an improvement it is necessary to teach a dissatisfaction with the picture of health which includes some trachoma some infant diarrhoea some infant death as a matter of course It is not enough to introduce co-operatives or techniques involving co-operation it is necessary also to teach the people to recognize as valid the created group and to organize in terms of future benefits rather than according to established community patterns

For many years schooling was not only ineffective but also disruptive because it was applied only to the young Roles were reversed in the home so that the children became the teachers of the parents creating confusion in relationships and resentment on the part of the displaced leaders A 'younger' generation in conflict with an older generation was created where there had been no such categories In some societies where the structuring of authority was felt strongly the responsibility placed on the young to teach the old created insupportable conflict for them Children taught in school not to spit on the floor to take baths regularly to be inoculated against epidemics lived in homes which taught the opposite ¹ With the new conception of education as covering all areas of living came the recognition of society as the unit to be educated In China the mass education programme initiated by James Yen was directed at adult groups as well as children and covered simplified reading and writing as well as public health agriculture and similar areas

In the United States and increasingly in other countries it has been the function of the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture to educate in areas of life other than literacy In many countries now fundamental education is carried on by teams including social workers graduate nurses agricultural assistants home-economists hygienic experts

In past years as Margaret Mead says education of dependent peoples was for the purpose of their successful exploitation by more advanced economies It is now recognized

Edmund d S Brun e and th rs 1945 pp 98 99
Ib d. pp 94 95
Fl ce Kl khoh 1941
F d ment l Ed t 1947 pp 84 85
Ib d. p 82 Pea l S B k, 1945
Elisabeth S E och 1943 pp 20-24 *F d ment l Ed t*
pp 40-43 D Spe ce H tch 1944 p 57 Of lia Hoope 1943 p 252
H len A Kitch 1950 p 5
M g t M d 1946 p 346

that the dependent and u der-developed peoples will have to be given education in literacy so that they can particip te in the larger world-community They have to be given the grasp of the framework of the economy of the civilized coun tries, an understanding of money and cred t and the ideas of pure number involved therein and some grasp of the implica tions of living by contract rather than according to establis ed r lationships

A number of factors must be taken into account in introducing literacy The main one is the conceptual framework and the structuring of knowledge and relationships within the so c ety For example when American teachers had their Samoan pupil skip a grade at school parents were ashamed, since pre cocity s decried in Samoa. When American teachers tried to [illegible] H a d N abo children through introducing compe

Ib d pp 347-49
Ib d. p 3 9
Ib d. p 330
William M lcolm H ley 1938 p 1245
Fund ental Educa io op cit. pp 48-49 H ley p cit. p 1219

tions and in separate schools to educate the masses mainly in areas of living French is the medium of instruction in both types of school[1]

In the Union of South Africa the colour bar whether legislatively operative or not means that there is no correspondence between attainment and reward It has been suggested therefore that because the great bulk of Africans are to be unskilled labourers they should be educated realistically But this is not acceptable to the non European who want book learning and want to h ... n Europeans are not com ... to Education represents ... Their hunger for educa ... however as poor provision is made for their schooling

In many areas th ... with the establishe ... complain that their ...

... girls as boys ... In some areas the level of health is too low to make school ... there ... are ... child ... diet ... often inclu ... primitive games and gymnastics Turkey faced with the necessity of establishing schools in its 40 000 villages adapted school work to the seasonal occupation of its villagers and class work apart from th ... practical tra ...

... half in practical ...

To make schools a successful medium for literacy the people have to be educated in the meaning of literacy their co-operation must be enlisted and incentives must be found or created In many cultures there is no understanding of the need for continued attendance Children will stay home for the

H lley p c t p 1282
F nd m t l Ed t p cit p 73
Ib d pp 78 79
Ib d pp 70 71 76 H l y p t p 1223
M g ret R d 1938 p 35
H lley op t p 1255
F d m t l Ed t on p it p 102
Alf ed R m E p osa *1942* p 9
Ed cat on i th N w T k y *1950* p 4 *F t T key 1950* pp 14 15
Ru al Reconstructio Sch m t M no f D t ict Egypt

d os tion or to keep a sick brother company or

ace bec us of forgetting

sci ce or agro omy they are e dy to teach these subjects or wo k in l bo torie b t not to s t up demonstrations in rural areas r cultiv t a demo str tion plot. In P nama teachers fused to h lp with s nitat on problems n the Nethe l ds Ind es and Burm nurses refused to do rural work since it in l d man l wo k which in the u ban hosp tals was per formed by m nial In China higher educat on tend d to create a group f un mpl yed, since it was beneath these people to

Th m ld p ci p 239
F nd en al Educ p cit. p 32
Ib d. p 99 101
Brun cit p 97

accept any non academic position Specific cultural attitudes may make for difficulties in the specific area of instruction. In Afghanistan anatomy has to be taught from charts and prepared specimens as the religion does not permit human dissection or autopsy studies Where the native population had been assigned inferior status higher education could not afterward be applied

Fundamental education in l v [illegible]
issues co[illegible]
of new [illegible]
of new [illegible]
agricultu[illegible]
hygienic [illegible] pation is necessary before latr[illegible] will be built and used since these are for the protection of others it is needed for the application of general immunization for quarantine measures on the local national and international levels and for general hygienic precautions as in food preparation or garbage-disposal The absence of such co-operative concepts is mentioned as an obstacle to industrialization

Experience has taught us that change can best be introduced not through centralized planning but after a study of local needs In China the mass-education programme was carried out by intellectuals who lived in the villages and learned the needs of the people When this principle is not followed the education programme fails or even works harm In many Latin American demonstration farms for example ways of keeping records on the basis of tractors and combines are shown to farmers who use only a foot plough and agronomists trained according to principles developed on the national level present to the cultivator material which is inapplicable on the local level In Indo-China efforts at practical education in agriculture failed because they taught the value of fertilizer to people for whom it was too expensive to buy at a time when they had to pay interest at the rate of about 80 per cent for three months if they were to finance the purchase of fertilizer by borrowing Actual harm was done when cult vators n Burma were persuaded to weed the [illegible]

[illegible] when young Turk sh[illegible]
farmers were persuaded also according to generalized princi[illegible]

F d m t l Ed l p cit. pp 85-86
J C C tl 1950 pp 690 91
T Bheem ch ry 1949 pp 12 15
B ck p c t pp 3 7
Loom p cit. p 124
Ib d p 125
E ch H J coby 1949 pp 152 53
J S F rn all 1948 p 327

ples to remove from their wheat fields the stones which had re-
m nc in New Mexico

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taminated.

Excellent results on the other hand are reported in cases where the pro~ramme of education was based on local needs. In the village of El Manayel in Egypt the build ng of a school house carri d out on the basis of discussions with the villagers acco ding t pecific local needs meant village co-operation in the filling in of an unhealthy pond for the school site the level ling of the vill ge streets to get material for filling in the pond and as an *indirect result better communication*[4]

When the specific needs of a locality or culture are dis-co ered *it is often still necessary to teach the people to recog-*

motivated to ad pt new ways on the ba s of logical ev *dence* or b tter results or of charts or scientific arguments Most people
m rs h 1 known

movies are not entirely effect v as *they move too fast for* people wh ha e to mull o r things

Nun Eren 1946 pp 282 83
Loom op pp 126-27
M h med M Shal b perso l commun cat i t ducl g cha ge
l th rur l Egypt ill f El M yel 1939-44
Bru op pp 94 95
Ib d pp 57 58
Sb l b person l commun t p cit. See also M P h 1950
L A cu d G C L th m 1937 pp 31 34 52 81 Loom p
p 124
Brun op ci p 94 Sh laby perso l comm icat op cit.

Sometimes the traditional is so highly valued that no change is accepted as improvement Workers find it difficult to motivate people in Latin America in terms of future benefits or an improved standard of living and extra cash income through wages or cash crops is not used to raise the standard of living because this standard is not valued In some regions of Africa, to ask the people to reduce their herds of cattle for the sake of their own better nutrition or to exchange them for better breeds or to sell some for cash to improve their own living conditions is like asking a mother to exchange her beloved child for a fairer or more robust one or for two strange children

Sometimes people resist new ways because the old have the sanction of the valued past or of religion In such cases the worker often introduces change by using this sanction in support of it. When artificial insemination was introduced in Greece under the auspices of the Near East Foundation in 1945 the bulls were first blessed by high church dignitaries in the customary religious inaug

and women were f

bidden during Le

milk at this time It

made acceptable b

over them In Le pump which was needed to g t uncontaminated water found sanction in quotations from the Koran to the effect that cleanliness was required from every faithful Moslem and the Koran was likewise used to provide sanction for co-operation and land improvement When Kemal Ataturk made his sweeping changes in Turkey he went about the villages talking with the people and showing them that he himself practised these things for example before he forbade the wearing of the fez, he visited the villages wearing a hat In the Middle East the glorious past is also used as a sanction and conversely an enemy s tradition is applied as an adverse sanction Kemal for example told the Turks that the fez was the distinguishing head gear of the Greeks A Greek manual addressed to mothers urges that they suckle their own babies like the Homeric heroines and that they stop swaddling them as in doing so they are following the barbarous custom of the ancient Romans

In many societies impersonality is abhorrent or at any rate ineffective Workers have found that programmes have a far greater chance of successful acceptance if they are perso introduced by people who hon

be held in

of him an

Ca l C T cua S g 1947 p 181

Bra op cit. p 99

Afil I T 1950 p 269

S lm Ek em 1947 pp 54 55

through him, and the motivation for carrying it out will be rooted in loyalty to him I shall try it for your sake is com mon phrasing in this s tuation. In the Netherlands Ind es ch e was more readily accepted when the expert was physi

I

operation of the community priest h lps to ccomplish a proj ct of ed c tion in only a fraction of the time otherwise need d, and with more eff cti en ss Experience in fu da

dignitaries fo directo b t these must be the r own digni taries with whom they are in an established *pat ó* relation ship

These are f ctors common to the introduct on of change in mo t ar s Th re a e p cific f ctors to be co d ed in par ticul r are s La d eform f r example has ot alw ys had

Hydrick p cit pp 18 19
E en p ci pp 284 85 Kitchen p cit. p 34
Brunne p ci pp 54-55
R th Be ed 1943 pp 103 5 Redfi ld op cit. pp 642-45
Alex d H L ghto d D th C Leigh 1944 p 58
D A Soul des 1949 pp 10 11
Brunn p cit. pp 123 24
T l p ci pp 15 19
Loomis, p ci p 91

the anticipated results because the people as in Turkey in the nineteenth century and in Mexico had not been educated to proprietorship The attempt to teach isolation of the sick fails because it cannot be presented in the name of either the individual or the family Where the family is not a collection of individuals but a unit in its own right what is good for one is automatically good for the family and since it is good for the sick to have loving companionship this cannot be bad for the family

Finally it has been proved by experience that the vernacular is the most effective and the most emotionally satisfying medium of instruction In this way literacy is not merely [illegible]
ciated with the foreign but b [illegible]
life [illegible]
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no [illegible] the use
of [illegible] the pre [illegible]
express [illegible]
culture [illegible]
living W [illegible]
social gr [illegible] to be the most effective procedure
in fundamental education

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Om C Stew t, 1950 p 27 K th L Wh tten 1948 p 566

IV SPECIFIC MENTAL HEALTH IMPLICATIONS OF TECHNICAL CHANGE

There are tw aspects of the probl m of techn cal chan e seen from the p nt of ew of m ntal health mental health serv ices th msel es as one type of techn cal change and a condi tion of me tal h alth as the generalized goal of technic l
rr w en e includes not only

beha i ur—such as seeing is o s he ring vo ces believing th t other people re killi g one by magic— nd symptoms of ge ine mental illness E in Western countries whe e psy

may be very difficult to distinguish from attacks of catatoni schizophrenia It may even be found that members of a society customarily fall into a benign deep stupor when they meet with frustrating or frightening situations—as is the case for the Balinese Where psychiatry has existed side by side with religion for a long period as in the West a mutual accommodation takes place and it is possible for the religious leadership to develop criteria which will distinguish between individuals who may be regarded as supernaturally blessed but not mentally unbalanced and individuals whose mental illness has a high religious content In introducing psychiatric practices into countries in which no such *modus vivendi* between religion and psychiatry has been worked out a great deal of preliminary work needs to be done to establish criteria for diagnosis This will be found to be tr

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of pain c ... component in the healing o ... ound Among some peoples wound healing is regularly delayed and a failure to heal will be significant only if it occurs beyond these delayed limits among others the rate of healing of a particular wound may have to be evaluated against a very high customary healing rate So the whole range of somatic symptoms which modern psychiatry assumes to have at least in some cases a strong psychogenic component have to be explored within the cultural setting before they can be evaluated diagnostically

When there is any attempt to go beyond the diagnosis of psychotic states or of specific somatic symptoms to the diagnosis and treatment of neurosis even greater caution is needed Behaviour which would be regarded in the Western wo ... a sign of a highly developed ob ... e

... ke of the cul

... are societies for example in which the only way in which the son can leave home is by having a terrific quarrel with his father what would appear to be highly unbalanced and dangerously hostile behaviour if seen only once in a single individual will be found—when the whole cultural situation is known—to be a customary dramatic way of breaking ties of dependency between one generation and another Societies differ very much as to how and when the younger generation is weaned from the ...

... e son being sent

to boarding-school being put on a régime of strict frugality and abstention from all gentleness etc. The clinging affectionate behaviour of a boy of 12 to his mother cannot be evaluated as unusual and a sign of neurotic needs—on his or her part or both their parts—until the rest of the social maturation pat

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may be very difficult to distinguish from attacks of catatonic schizophrenia. It may even be found that members of a society customarily fall into a benign deep stupor when they meet with frustrating or frightening situations—as is the case for the Balinese Where psychiatry has existed side by side with

who may be regarded as supernaturally blessed but not mentally unbalanced and individuals whose mental illness has a high religious content In introducing psychiatric practices into countries in which no such *modus vivendi* between religion and psychiatry has been worked out a great deal of preliminary work needs to be done to establish criteria for diagnosis This will be found to be true not only for such complex matters as trance and vision experience but also for such simple matters as the accurate reporting on and localization of pain or the evaluation of the psychogenic component in the healing of a wound Among some peoples wound healing is

sign of a highly developed obsessional neurosis may be quite conventional in another culture—as for example ritual cleanliness or periods of extreme sexual licence When it is also

only way in having a terrific quarrel to be highly unbalanced if seen only once in a single individual will b ... —when the whole cultural situation is *known*—*to be a customary dramatic way* of breaking ties of dependency between one generation and another Societies differ very much as to how and when the younger generation is weaned from the parent generation ... permissive and permit a high degree of physi... owed by a harsh and sudden ... ony of some sort being sent

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work closely with those concerned with public health educa tional and industrial and agricultural planning In this way the particular insights of the consulting room and the implications of such insights for the design of a school system a maternity ce tre or a factory may be high lighted For while it may well be true that there are certain bas c psychic nutrients which each human individual needs for his fullest and most harmoni ous development, these nutrients—of human love care stim ulation, reassurance—are medi ted so differently in each so- ciety that the most profound and detailed attention—on the spot—is needed to be sure that, instead of blanket prescrip- tions, which may involve serious errors detailed adjustments to real s tu tions are m de Otherwise a great number of con tradicti ns will develop just as they have in the field of nutri tion, where in an attempt to prevent the danger of infect on from the practice of pre-chewing the infant s supplementary food, mothers—th msel es undernourished—have been told
a d rely only on breast milk or

will be most feas ble which types of patients may with safety and pr mise be hosp talized together whether hosp talizat on of the mentally ill will in fact, se m to the population kind and protecti e o on th contrary cruel and unnecessary and so def t th t d velopment of popular sens tivity whi h it is be
are de-

as umpti n th t th mother i the cruc al p rson for such co sultation may h e to be modified to include f the grand

J Bowlby 1951

ened public opinion as in part at least the consequences of the lack of preventive services Then each mad beggar who disappears from the streets—as treatment services develop—will by his absence help to point up the possibility of a world in which not only are the streets empty of mad beggars and vagrants but also in which such waste of human beings can be at least in part prevented If th d
centres is seen as a device
and humane public opinio
of spending time and effoi
whom are hopelessly ment d ased—instead of devoting all available skills and energies to preventive services can be resolved

Behind the movement for better mental health for all of mankind stands the finding of the psychiatrist who has worked for a lifetime with individuals through hundreds of hours of patient unravelling of lives which have been distorted and broken beyond any necessary expectation from heredity and constitutional weakness the psychiatrist who says *This need not happen*

For each society and for each segment of society within which the psychiatrist finds his patients he is able to provide new insights which when translated with the help of educators and social scientists become preventive measures to provide for the better mental health of future generations suggestions for new social practices within which each growing child may be assured a better start But th
be local it is not poss
insights in a large Par
Latin American plant atrists working in the industrialized West may come to emphasize the hazards of the weakened family structure and the broken home But the psychiatrists working in unindustrialized sections of southern Europe or the Near East may simult

we do not yet have a fully developed so itry in struc rition acn
e expected change in educational practice and ways of earning a living then in order to provide against the forms of mental illness now known and to prevent the development of new forms of mental illness do this Human culture is so complex that it seem unlikely that it will ever be possible to write prescriptions in such a form Rather it is necessary to suggest—in the light of our present

cons deration—from the standpoint of mental health—in the introduction of any technical change should be the safe guard ing of the population against further mental ill health against the express on in individual lives of the disorganization and disruption accompanying the introduction of new techniques and ways of living. The earl er chapters in this m nu l have been devoted to a consideration of methods and consequences of change seen on the soc al level *which* cultural attitudes *m st be taken into accou t how the cultural practices of a* people may be used to facilitate change how a people who [illegible] on m y come to use it, how a people whose quate nourish s Throughout the

) the soc [illegible] eing resisted and n living-habits of ns for the mental

[illegible]

ing provides?

Here w do ot h the d tailed ase histories f conflict

d e d recorded.

parents etc according to the age and sex of a child patient.
The role of the psychiatrist himself will have to be varied. Experience has shown that the European pattern of psychia

work together different divisions of role between the clerical and psychiatric professions develop It is only necessary to raise the question of what model a psychiatrist would use in a country in which the gods are treated as children of the wor

h a grandfather is to
nstrate how patient
ried and modified as
parts of the world

But again this can only be done on the spot by foreign practitioners responding sensitively to experience with patients and by physicians from the countries themselves modifying the practices which they have learned in Western medical schools or from the imported medical practices of the urban West

Throughout this discussion it is important to realize that much of what has been said about the introduction of psychiatric practice into countries which have not previously had psychiatric services applies also to the rural and under-developed regions of countries where psychiatry has been highly developed but principally in urban areas In such countries only by working on the spot with the local inhabitants can practices be designed which are genuinely congruent with the habits and needs of the people—and such practices may differ sharply from those appropriate to urban populations even of the same nationality

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or exist in a very rudimentary form they can best be developed parallel to the infusion of a mental health approach in other health

health

TECHNICAL CHANGE AND MENTAL ILLNESS

Just as a first step in establishing any mental health programme in a new area is the incorporation of clinical insights so a first

or a way of giving their welfare and safety into the hands of sorcerers An improved form of house may also be a house without the proper magical screens to baffle the demons who m y enter nd make one ill Substitution of a more or less destructible cooking pot may be seen as lowering the value of a bride because of a change in the
f re useful always to ask

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beings will respond they cann t prec ne particular respo ses.

5 Any gnificant change in the life of an individual tends to introduce some degr e of instability or d sharmony in the w y his life ctivities his beli fs and ttitudes, are o ganized. Such instab l ty can be described psychologi cally as m tional tension

A gnificant hange results in tens on either because old behaviour i found to be in dequ te or by creating ew tuation for wh ch new beh viour must be acquired. The old responses—the way a man handled a tool or led a w k party or call d in a haman to cu e sick child—h ve usu lly been an esse t l p rt of the i d dual s sense
es m be

PSYCHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES WHICH MAY BE UTILIZED DURING THE PROCESS OF TECHNICAL CHANGE

In this section we deal specifically with those findings of

concerned with technical change—whether the results are expressed in increase of yield per acre or increases in total national export or reduction in the infant death rate—are of course concerned in the final analysis with individuals But there is a definite difference in the level of this concern and it is to the worker within the village or the school, the agri cultural demonstration station and the local public health clinic who works day after day with a small number of identified human beings that this discussion is specially di rected

1 The agents of change—the teacher the agricultural exten sion worker the nurse—must realize that their own be haviour beliefs and attitudes are not universal and axio matic They must realize that their ways of counting reckoning time judging conduct expressing enthusiasm or disgust, are—like the behaviour beliefs and attitudes of those whom they are helping to change—learned and traditional

2 The beliefs and attitudes of the people among whom they are working must be seen as having functional utility For each individual they give continuity to his personality permit him to feel that he is a named identified person the same person—only older or more important although fatter or just elected to office—that he was yesterday

people If the teacher or extension agent recognizes such clinging to old beliefs and practices as having re l useful ness for an individual rather than interpreting it as evidence of stubbornness unco-operativeness ignorance inability to learn etc he will be better able to introduce changes

3 Any change must be examined from the point of view of the individuals who are exposed to the change Where a change may seem to the expert to be merely a better way of feeding cattle or of disposing of waste to the people it may seem to be a rejection of the commands of the god

The possible consequences of frustration are very nu merous and th y are not by any me ns all bad The nature of the consequences depends partly upon the severity ~ on has an intense consequence

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tools of production ha e little nergy
the new tools oppressed and enslaved peoples who drown their sorrows in s nging about a heaven in wh ch all loads will be lightened are not as likely to welcome ag tat on for *improved* cond tions on this earth However while a man who is mildly thwarted may show negligible changes in his behaviour summation of many minor frustrations whose effects are cumulative can result in severe changes in behaviour This should be remembered when a series of plans is made each one of which appears to involve only a slight change—gett ng to wo k a little earl er being paid a little differently obtaining supplies from a different spot, etc

Many or most of the frustrat ons experienced in da'ly life are not harmful and for this reason the term "block ade which is neutral has been proposed The tens ons set up by the new learning requ red the old hab t re-linquish d the l n er series of cts necessary to reach the goal re r sol ed w thout d srupting the successful ~ h ock

oft a new way

It s co ce able then that it is not harmful from a mental health point of view to stimul te needs desires dema ds among peoples who now f el no such needs or desires, o wh at le t are not conscious of them or articul t about them Such stimulat on does of course cre t stab l ty d harm ny and tens on If m ans are re en

th case of ncre d use of cow s milk Thailand or increased u e of milk for b bies in G eece But if the

viduals learning new habits can encourage each other by sharing accounts of difficulties and making suggestions for new habits interpretations from experienced workers that the tensions experienced are to be expected

Although we may expect that the existence of such tensions will be accompanied by changes in the individual s behaviour which tend to reduce the original tension the dissipation of such tensions may take a considerable time or may not be successful If the dissipation of the tension is not successful the individual remains in a state of mal adjustment or frustration A common consequence of such a state of frustration is that the individual returns to the old responses that he had begun to abandon But these old responses are likely to seem less satisfactory than they once were and so he may remain maladjusted The illiterate who attempts to learn to read and fails is a very much less satisfied person than the peasant by whom learning to read was never considered a possible or even a suitable activity

It is the general experience of psychiatrists that even when changes in an individual s life are very painful for him to achieve if he has a strong wish to change then the successful resolution of his tensions is quicker and more likely and there are fewest returns to old and un desired responses Also there may be less tension and reluctance to change if the new procedures deal with the recognized difficulties and sufferings of the people and will directly help to resolve those difficulties and reduce those sufferings which have long been endured as in evitable

It follows that there is less reason to fear mental health disturbances among those populations in which the in dividuals affected by the change have themselves desired the change Hence the provision by the Specialized Agen cies of the United Nations that requests for technical assistance be initiated in the countries involved is sup- ported by psychiatric experience with the responses of individuals observed clinically

6 Frustration may be discussed under four main headings (a) physical environment (b) biological l m tations (c) psychological make up and (d) social environmen A r technical devices are available to [illegible] th fir [illegible]

[illegible] concepts of indi viuual human worth and new medical practices may re main as persistent sources of frustration

The possible consequences of frustration are very nu
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withdraw from society or to smile when he is angry or to become bedridden, as a consequence of frustration Also wo kers who bend all their efforts to destroy new
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a man who is mildly thwarted may show negligible changes in his behaviour ummation of many minor frustrations whose effects e cumulative can result in severe changes in behaviour Thi should be remembered when a series of plans is made each one of which appears to invol e only a sl ght ch ge—getting to work a l ttle e rlier being paid a little differently obtaining supplies from a different spot, etc

Many or most of the frustrations experienced in da'ly life are not harmful and for this reason the term "block ade which is neutral has been proposed The tens ons set up by the new learning required the old hab t relinquished the lon er series of acts necessary to reach the goal are resol ed without disrupting the successful

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It is concei able then that it is not harmful from a mental health point f view to stimulate n eds desires d mands among peoples who now feel no such ne ds or desires, or who at least a not conscious of them or articulate abo t them S h st mul tion does of course

desire to have new kinds of machinery or new food or new free education is stimulated and then because of poverty or lack of personnel the desire cannot be realized persistent frustration is to be expected with possible return to old behaviours which will then be less satisfactory than in the past. There are then clearly dangers here In the advanced industrial nations the desire for longevity has been carried to the point where millions of people have the medical care to keep them alive but no way of making these later years of life meaningful Thus mass frustration exists among the aged The danger of cultivating felt needs which are unrealized under existing conditions can be diminished by keeping close to local conditions to that which is immediately feasible so that training teachers precedes building local schools importing

attitudes The man roused to anger is not the best social planner People on a starvation diet are not likely to produce new and workable patterns of economic activity So share-croppers who have only fat meat to give their children may force their children to like fat because it is absolutely necessary that they learn to eat it or parents in a country with meat rationing may forget all they have learned about not forcing their children to eat because that particular bit of meat cooked for the Sunday meal is all the meat the child will get Immigrants from country to city may try to embrace every detail of the new way of life losing all sense of continuity

7 When frustration persists and is intensified consequences

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(a)

lage people who ignored the changes which took place in the larger towns may actively combat them when they have failed to incorporate them into village life Young men who are given no chance to use a new form of education which they saw as des gned to fit them for a higher form of work may return to un skilled work but with new resentment.

(b) The indi idual s beha iour may become less mature more childish his f elings and emotions may be more poorly controlled or new forms of dependency may develop

(c) Th accumulated tensions may find expression in aggressi e acts such as feelings and action of anger

(d)

to modern technology to acquire the necessary new knowledge

(e) T

and often unrelated way such as chronic fatigue

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Little system t c inform tion exists concerning the percent ages of ind vidu ls who under sust ined te on have developed this or that consequence of frustration, or one or

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oneself (solitary activities) and the time spent in responsive contact (social activities with other people) during a waking day

In any society we may assume that for each individual there are limitations during his waking day upon the amount of responsive participation with others of which he is capable while experiencing sufficient over all emotional satisfaction There limitations will probably involve (a) the total amount of interaction with other people (b) the frequency of such interactions with other people (c) their nature—that is whether they are subordinate-superordinate relationships affectional hostility-provoking etc Thus an individual's mental health at a given period in his life may depend upon a type of relationship with his peers which compensates or balances periods when he is under the orders of a superior or is him self responsible for the activity of others He may be depending upon a certain ratio of planned activity to unplanned, or of gregariousness to solitariness or of using his hands to using words or symbols Severe disturbances in such a customary pattern of distribution of time result in tension, which the individual seeks to relieve Furthermore while each individual has his own unique pattern the patterns of interaction in a given culture will be found to show definite regularities so that by sampling the lives of a given group of individuals, it will be possible to see what changes are likely to occur through new habits of work, different agricultural equipment, factory labour etc

Each technical change being considered can then be examined against this customary pattern, even when the change is the substitution of a single tool, or the simple introduction of a new method of transportation between home and work. The change may reduce the need to do a job and so free more time for more jobs or for other social or solitary activities It may require that new relationships to people be developed either to replace those disrupted by giving up the old working process or to carry out the new process Associated with the old tool or the old method of transport, will be old beliefs and attitudes The agent of change can then ask whether the new change will alter the observable pattern of social interaction and associated beliefs and attitudes to such a degree as to strain the individual's capacity for readjustment. Workers on plantations who are well paid, but for whom no social activities are provided, may become involved in vice and alcoholism simply in an attempt to establish an expected ratio between work and relaxation. Decreases in the length of the working-day may lead to maladjustment unless new ways of using time are available Closer contact with other workers when it replaces former solitariness of the

Elizabeth Hoyt, 1951

New sources of emotional satisfaction must be developed during his working-day if emotional stability is to be main tained.

In addition, technical changes not directly affecting indi vidual w rkers patterns of work relationships may produce serious alteration in work relationships New types of housing may make it necessary to reduce the size of the family who li e together new types of water-supply may transform what was once a pleasant communal method of laundering into a solitary and hated domestic chore factory-made instead of home-woven cloth may transform the wife's role food which is bought ready-prepared may prevent the wife from demon strating her wif ly devotion by long hours over pot or kettle W th such changes in patterns of domestic work, of distribu tion of time of distribution of interaction within the family strain is experienced

In medicine it has be n discovered repeatedly that a specific remedy for a disease may have serious side-effects creating organic disturbance or other ill effects not intended or ex pected. In the same way a very useful new tool, practice, or technique may be highly effective for the specific purpose intended, but have disturbing side-effects upon the individual and the whole social organization. Further the total system of an indiv dual s relationships may be disturbed by techno logical changes which in tially affect neither himself as a w rker nor anyone in his immediate family The publ c health clinic may se er old relationsh ps to m dwife and medicine man and priest. The ratio of old men to young is upset by conscripti n of labour for d stant mines or plantations The introducti n of a trading-post or store may cause a demand for cash where cash was not needed before W de-spread d s turbances in an individual s hab tual relation hips within his community may occur as consequences of initially localized technical changes wherever these may be—wh ther in the local economy in the system of government, in the adminis trati n of public health, in the educational system, or else where

An attempt i made theref re, to evaluate such proposed changes by gathering initial information about the total ex isting pattern of relationships of the ind viduals involved and by asking whether a sign ficant change in part or all of this pattern is a likely result of any specific technical change. Associated changes in b l efs and attitudes as well as in hab ts should be carefully cons dered The obs rvations c n be ob tai ed from deta l d reco ds of several consecutive days wak ing activities It is necessary to know the total amount of inte acti n an individu l has with each other person (total number of minutes r hours per day per week) the num ber of contacts per day or per week with a part cular person

individual peasant working alone in a garden may prove unbearable unless other changes are introduced It may be possible for an individual to tolerate almost continuous interaction with people whom he knows and can take for granted, while a much less prolonged contact with strangers may be taxing and may lead to strain and maladjustment But in other cultures it may be too close contact with relatives or neighbours introduced by some change in working h h proves hard to bear

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If in the recent past u ii possible effects on mental health. likely to in the way people live a knowledge of how these changes have occurred and how people felt about them may give some promising clues to the form their present readiness or reluctance to change may take Changes due to the use of new tools or materials or to new power sources are more obvious than changes which occur in individual work habits or in patterns of social interactions But the mental health of the individual tends to be more affected by the last two

New methods of exchange of goods and payment for work associated with an economy based on money and credit may profoundly affect work patterns If marked changes occur in the length of time between the completion of a particular task and the payment for that task the individual worker s social relationships may be profoundly disturbed He can no longer plan for his own or his sister s marriage for illness or for funerals debts mount up He is no longer able a stable and habitual set of ro

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in c u al system of human relationships during work or degree of such changes their impact upon the individuals concerned thus laying the basis for helpful preventive or compensating measures

Changes in work may be reflected in changes of the interactional pattern within the family The worker may be away longer he may not be able to provide in the same way for his children new and irksome forms of supervision or speed up may disturb him emotionally and this may be reflected in his family life The small farmer who now works in a factory may have fewer contacts each day with his wife his children and other relatives with whom he used to do his farm work

also relieves his tension. A man thrown out of a job in an industrial society tries to adjust himself to living unemployed, and he may also for the first time feel a need to understand how the economic system works. Thus at times of individual or group crisis the situation is more favourable for adaptive changes in habitual behaviours, beliefs and attitudes. Groups which have themselves felt and expressed a need for technical change are more likely to be aware of the crisis which develops in their lives as a result of the desired change and so be able to make an effort to adapt to it constructively.

2. *A technical change will be perceived by the affected individuals as a smaller change if the change can be incorporated into an unchanged larger pattern of relationships, thus taking advantage of the way in which human perception organizes objects or events together on the basis of proximity in time or space, or culturally determined similarity.* Thus families may migrate a great distance but preserve their usual habits of family life. Or upon entering a new country an individual may begin to do new work, but of a type which has been defined as appropriate for anyone from his country, so that his sense of his national identity is strengthened even while the work itself is new and strange.

Even in very complicated situations in which technical changes cannot be fitted into an existing community or family framework, it may be quite possible to find in operation institutions or existing patterns of interaction which have sufficient similarity to the new desired behaviours to make the introduction of change easier.

In any attempt to use old ways of behaviour to facilitate change, it is however important to keep in mind that sometimes a change will be accepted more easily if it is new in a new context. So a new kind of organization may be perceived as more appropriate for a new kind of activity—so that people will accept a factory and a union together where either one alone might be rejected. Paper cups may be accepted more readily if an unfamiliar beverage is served in them. New foods may be accepted if they are introduced together with a new kind of stove or fuel. Thus the tendency of the human mind to organize and simplify may be invoked by grafting new forms of behaviour on to old forms so that the new seem old and familiar, or by letting one break in traditional behaviour carry a number of other breaks.

3. *An individual's ability to learn is a function of the way in which he perceives a situation.* Failure to understand this leads to unwarranted discouragement about the learning capacities of other peoples. "They can't learn from

1 n rel eves his tension. A man thrown out of a job in

a result of the desired change and so be able to make an

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strange

Even in very complicated situations in which technical changes cannot be fitted into an existing community or family framework, it may be quite possible to find in operation institutions or existing patterns of interaction wh ch have sufficient similarity to the new desired be haviours to make the introduction of change easier

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Thus, the tende cy of the human mind to organize and simplify may be invoked by grafting new forms of behaviour o to old forms so that the new seems old and

3

experience we say This often simply means that what the expert or the innovator saw in a sequence of events differed sharply from what the people saw Each person learns from the sequence as he perceives it

A famous example of the operation of this principle was the unforeseen effect upon the American public of Upton Sinclair s novel *The Jungle* Mr Sinclair was a crusading friend of the overworked and underpaid he hated cruelty exploitation and the cheating of the innocent He observed how people lived in the Chicago stock yards and put his bu–

The facts which he

need for a co-operat

of his American readers however were not socialists but they were meat-eaters They perceived Mr Sinclair s facts in their own way They read about the human beings and the rats who had fallen into the lard vats and were then sold as food They concluded that a new pure food law was required and Upton Sinclair s novel led to a reform

Sometimes a perception will be so dependent upon an underlying set of fundamental beliefs that it will not be possible to change a practice without

4

must be very carefully evaluated before any of the principles found can be applied in a different setting It is particularly important to allow for the extensive qualitat e

differences which quantitative changes in scale may introd ce A village is not a model for a province or a nation
w h e dealt w th the mental health of the

tu ue we
rupted the worker who must learn to keep pace with a machine or to accept some new form of association or supervis on.

But from the standpoint of mental health the hazards of change are actually not as great for those who are n vol ed thus immedi tely as th y are for their children The peasant who comes to the city brings with him all the stabil ty derived from a childhood spent within a tradition
refl ct hat

root, req ires more than the observation of sound psy

Amo g such inventions are new methods of child care

sleep trustingly in new places because he has learned to

trust even in a world that is not fixed ... need new methods of ... mind open longer le... less stylized methods ... in knowledge but in ... what could be but is not known

In all technical change even when it seems to be concerned with tools machines and other impersonal objects the individual person is both the recipient of change and the mediator or agent of change His integrity as a person his stability as a personality must be kept ever in focus as the living concern of all purposive change

V PRINCIPLES INVOLVED IN DEVELOPING MENTAL HEALTH DURING TECHNICAL CHANGE

It is recognized that during technical change difficulties and conflicts are inevitable This survey does not offer solutions to these problems but rather indicates how these problems can be approached so as to minimize the difficulties or conflicts creating problems of adjustment preserve and where possible promote mental health

We may now summarize the general principles which can be derived from the type of materials which have been examined for this survey

1 The culture of each people is a living ...

2

3 An active concern for the mental health of the peoples of the world includes an active concern for the ways in which technical change is taking place When the introduction of technical chance is purposively initiated or promoted by individuals or responsible bodies such purposiveness involves responsibility for the effects not only in improved living-conditions, but also upon the total way of life of the

people for reintegration as well as a defence against disintegration.

4 As each culture is unique and as each particular situation within which a change is occurring or is to be made is ... prescriptions for what ... so to ... each ...

account the culture and the situation and the indiv dual in vol ed

5 All changes should be introduced with the fullest poss ble ...

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s concerned

7 In the l ght of th se general principles we may cons der in somewhat mo e detail a set of recommendations which should make it possible to observe these principles in any given case.

RECOMMENDATIONS

First

It is mportant to t ke into account the degree of congruence between different levels of planning from the international or

national level to the final expression of any change in the daily lives of some identified group of people in some part of the world If there are serious discrepancies in the practices involved or in the goals sought at higher levels these will be reflected in the way the changes are made which affect the lives of the people whose farming practices methods of earning a living or health attitudes are to be changed For example if a government is promoting a given change for purposes of
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people—so that what is a sub goal for one group is a major goal for the second group—a type of internal sabotage and friction may be set up which will be reflected in discordant n t ces at a more local level in literature produced or plans
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As there are bound to be great differences b a goals at different levels and in different sorts of planning—international national scientific humanitarian educational engineering etc —the identification of a common sub-goal—such as universal vaccination—may prove impracticable Those concerned with population growth may well point out
nfant death rate before adequate changes
practice to sup-
ational practices

Such a conflict, seriou s
pared with the conflict between modern Western values—in which each individual is seen as unique and with but one life to live so that every effort must be made to promote the survival and health of each individual born—and the values

— h wh le affirming the value of individ

Chinese infant, the conference emphasized the need in China for con — — C es rt n nts were

and ggs Chinese econom sts w re wary of a plan wh ch will

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ho have a ted interest—economic or psycholog al—in the preserv t on of the st t q or n the promot o of con ditions which are antithetical to the best mental health of the

members of the society Here again the question of sub-goals comes in If the entire group involved in making a plan is committed to the particular sub goal the alteration of the plans in the direction of genuine cultural considerations may more safely be relied upon Thus in a conference on nutrit o while one cannot with f

cultural backgrounds to introduce th y upon *nutritionists* of different into any

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ture of the particular professions and of the administrative apparatus concerned as soon as any planned change has a specific population group as its object members of that group —through demonstration villages pilot projects etc —must be brought into the planning

Whether we focus on the need for homogeneity in type of practice or on the need for reconciling widely different basic ideologies and values this proced

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Certain other recommendations follow It is de rabl h all groups involved w h change—e th

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its Such a group would include of course the members of the culture in which the change is being made members of the culture whose developed professional skills or economic know how and resources are being drawn upon and members of a third culture who can maintain a certain objectivity and prevent the consuming group and the resource group from becoming dead locked or developing an isolated bit of behaviour in which the conflicts—between for example Indonesian and American or Burmese and Dutch value systems—may become frozen This same recommendation applies to the composition of every type of team within a country if the national level and rural communi

ties are the focus of the planning the inclusion as a third
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count.

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Where sp cific technical practices are to be introduced into a cu tur r a part of a soc ety wh ch has not hitherto used them it is desirable to strip these technical practices of as many ex trane u cultural accretions (from the l nds of origin) as possible. This recommendation applies to such varied matters as mas prod ction methods of immunization development of alphabets for unwritten languages methods of antisepsis or of sanitat n, etc It is realized that the technologies and in e ti ns f modern sc ence are them elves the outgrowth of a very p rt cular historically limited type of culture—a cul tu e

tempt to i est gate all types of phenomena so that l wfulness in n tu he

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parti ular dev e may be u ed effectiv ly by peoples w thin whose cultu e that particular invent on m ght never ha e been made It i also p obable that too much emph sis upon the whole complex of cultural attitudes surrounding such in en tions as locks th rmom ters shock therapy printi g caloric food-counts a sembly line p oduction D esel eng nes or electronic self-corrective devices may slow down the possi

members of the society Here again the question of sub-goals comes in If the entire group involved in making a plan is committed to the particular sub goal the alteration of the plans in the direction of genuine cultural considerations may more safely be relied upon Thus in a conference on nutrition while one cannot with safety rely upon a representative of a manufacturer of synthetic baby foods or the advocate of a change in the agricultural production pattern of a country to a crop of which he is the principal exporter or the representative of a group whose particular services will disappear if any action is taken one can rely upon *nutritionists* of different cultural backgrounds to introduce the necessary precautions into any nutritional plan made

As a general recommendation then it is possible to say that it is dangerous ever to make any plan or to try to execute any plan without the active participation of members of the culture of the particular professions and of the administrative apparatus concerned as soon as any planned change has a specific population group as its object members of that group —through demonstration villages pilot projects etc —must be brought into the planning

Whether we focus on the need for homogeneity in type of practice or on the need for reconciling widely different basic ideologies and values this procedure is necessary The arrogant self assurance which makes more industrialized countries force their methods on the less industrialized the touchy eagerness to prove themselves that characterizes young nations the missionary zeal of the apostles of the scientific point of view and the defensive measures of the religiously orthodox may all be welded into a working whole if exponents of each position plan together

Certain other recommendations follow It is desirable that

change is being made members of the culture whose developed professional skills or economic know how and resources are being drawn upon and members of a third culture who can maintain a certain objectivity and prevent the consuming group and the resource group from becoming dead locked or developing an isolated bit of behaviour in which the conflicts—between for example Indonesian and American or Burmese and Dutch value sy tems—may become frozen This same recommendation applies to the composition of every type of team within a country if the national level and rural communi

ties are the focus of the planning the inclusion as a third
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Second

of alph bets for unwritten langu ges methods of antisepsis or of sanit tion etc It is realized th t the technologies and m e tio s of modern science are themselves the outgrowth

co cerned W thout this focus f modern science—this discont nt w th any except the scientific explanation th at tempt t estig te all types of phenome a s th t l wfulness m n ti e he

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bility of invention in the world because the members of the new cultures who import and adopt the invention are prevented from making a contribution to its further development If in order to use a certain type of machine it is necessary to adopt all the attitudes towards punctuality of Western factories and school systems absorbing this alien type of education may act selectively within the new culture so that only the deviant or only the obedient and frightened learn and the gifted and creative may turn away An alien technology supported by forms of education and inter personal relations which are also alien is likely to separate the practitioner of the new skill from his cultural roots prevent the new practice from becoming integrated in the living habits of the mass of the people and produce populations who are confused and disoriented because they do not participate meaningfully in the new forms of their society We see this happening every day in workers who emigrate from country to city from a peasant to an industrial country who learn to comply with the alien ritual of factory or clinic but who are themselves lost and disoriented

Western trained professionals carry about with them an enormous amount of cultural baggage which could very well

patterns of the population there is instead an insistence upon ideas like three meals a day balance of the diet within 24 hours the importance of animal milk for infants and so the use of the findings of nutritional science is compromised and confused in other parts of the world Sanitarians may impose the ideas of their own culture on the proprieties of age and sex standards of privacy or even introduce systems of behaviour which involve culturally special ideas about the whole process of digestion or which violate the trust of a particular

way to utilize a gi en set of food resources In another culture
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of seniors who have worked as foreigners in th I cou ry and w th representatives from other countries with different types of pract ce—in making a new p ttern which is congenial and meaningful to them as representatives of their own cultur

Th m del f r such a proced re by which the end product r — rm of p rt cular

sense—in that it had been demonstrated to contain the neces sary nutrients for human beings—into food in the cultural sense something that people would eat and be nouri hed by In h —

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tro ... part of the world to another the burden of the habits and beliefs of the people who developed a particu lar technique is heavy It will be necessary to set about strip ping each practice down as well as building up training and development methods which permit each new culture which takes over a particular technique to contribute new patterns of use This means a style of analysis which asks of each procedure What is the scientifically essential the minimum core of this operation? In regard to a thermometer questions would be asked about size shape colour the use of the particular system of measurement the way normal was marked the preference for a mo th o
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as the more obvious question of how an operation of a factory type should be set up in a society with entirely different patterns of human relations

But one of the great advantages of first stripping each technological change to the core of querying the most time-honoured accretions and practices is that the experts then genuinely need constructive thinking by members of the cul ture where they are going to work Because the situation is new no one can give them a recipe and usually the culturally workable answer can only be arrived at by experiment—with living human beings from the culture in question If a ther mometer is not even to *look* like our thermometer then what is it to look like? If a factory is not a building with walls what is it? If dried beans are not bean soup what are they? The scene is then set for the participation of the members of the

ing techniques of the country to which change is be ng brought are i t rwo e w th the local value system is also important. So t may be found th t agricult ral practices are tied up with an image of the earth as a mother who g es food and is fed and an m ge of m tu l g ving—by man c e and fertilizer by th earth food for man—m y be used for the new agricutural techniques.

Third

When the p rticular alues of a gi en culture are to be used as vehi les for ch nge uch a use should be planned and 1 e who share the belief

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masse of the peopl ? These quest ons reveal a dilemma in h ch the secul riz d e p rt asks h w i fact he—who does

t om the city from the mod rnizing ect r of the popul t n from anothe ountry o f m n i t rn tio l gency For m n who h mself b l es in no God to search the Kor n fo a appro ri te t t t supp rt methods of p vent g well pollutio w ll t best, lim t his efficiency and make his com m tm t to the ff rt of gu nt ei g a popul t on pure water less whol heart d. At w rst it nt oduc s an element of man pul tion into the operation which reduces the dignity of

those whose holy
strings are pulled
people themselve
scriptures transform the new knowledge into a new expression of an ancient and beloved revelation then the dangers of lack of spontaneity falseness manipulation and degradation *are avoided*

Careful attention to this principle of participation will also help to deal with one of the most serious dangers in the purposive introduction of new technologies among peoples who have newly come to trust in and desire the scientifically based achievements and values of the West Among such peoples a great mar
engineerir
able brea
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coats and
brief cases to an insistence upon marriage for love and the disregard of traditional patterns of inter personal relations—*is often an essential step in the particular path of modernization* or Westernization on which they have determined or for which their own society has selected them But they are for this very reason seldom the appropriate persons to adapt the new practices to the traditions which are still shared by the masses of the people To the extent that they are committed to the new form of their society they will wish to bring their
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As each cultu e is a whole howe er sorely torn at the mo-
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tempts t compen t on and retal ation from those whose feel

overval bre d *and plumb ng and devalue mus c a d archi*
tect Those who e status is d fin d a a have not may
com to ep d ate the p ss b l ty f learni g anythi g at all
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w draw on a *image in wh ch two adults—one experienced*
in on sk ll another a d ff r nt skill—pool the r knowledge
so th t e h ca th k'll of the other f r a part cular task

who regard their y ung go ernments as institutions which must

be protected and cherished by the citizenry A very little

world—radar or psychoanalytic therapy—is still only part of a way of life to which others who are skilled in ways of life which have developed differently may be expected to contribute new insights The sensitive application of a gadget or the rejection of some use to which it has callously been put, may be as great or even greater a contribution than the invention of the gadget itself

Fifth

Every effort should be made to design the introduction of measures to facilitate or compensate for or provide for benefits from technical change in such a way that the process is circular and all those involved at every level are able to participate and experience the changes as they occur

One of the serious difficulties experienced by human beings who attempt to change the culture within which they live is that the very fact of planning itself makes it possible to force

This was vividly illustrated by an episode in which housing was planned at the national level and the architects anxious to conserve labour and materials (which meant massive savings when thousands of dwelling units were concerned in the plans) reduced the traditional space allotted to stairways only to find that they had built houses in which a coffin could not be carried down the stairs Harassed housing managers had

ho t a ccommod tion between the dimens ons of the houses
n hin them.
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It is poss ble to s y that in all old and habitual enterprises
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Tw inventio s wh ch have been made in the last century attempt to deal with these p oblems the model or the pilot project, and p ov s on for feed back from an area where any

re h tem nt is

wh t th y themselv s a do ng Their own behav our is fed back t them and be mes part of the planning process.

Th re are v riety of ther w y n wh ch the f ed back process ca b l borated so th t, for example no planning conf nc i held without provis on f r the planners later be g f lly informed of the outcome of thei plans Modern m thods of o nd record ng and mo g p ctu es can be tried

p ri nce

In bri f f there s to be purposive cha e d cted by those w th powe d resou ces to introd ce programmes of vast scope w th u p e edented speed so a to dd 20 years to the expectat on of life within a single gener tion or alter the

be protected and cherished by the citizenry A very little scrutiny if the whole culture is taken into account is enough

which have developed differently may be expected to contribute new insights T dget or *the rejection of some* en put, may be as great or e the in vention of the gadget itself

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Every effort should be made to design the introduction of measures to facilitate or compensate for or provide for benefits from technical change in such a way that the process is circular and all those involved at every level are able to participate and experience the changes as they occur

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m t of wh ch populat ons are relentlessly

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against the present rate of buildi g e ti j s r
home for the a ed project needs for new kinds of personnel and begin to train them 10 years before the need develops

T p eserv a d promote m ntal health in the midst of technical chang then emerges as a way of stat ng a goal of cultu al newal as each g oup of people undertakes to ut lize

APPENDIX A

THE INTERNATIONAL SETTING OF TECHNICAL CHANGE

GENERAL OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

N 24 October

tion.

The f ll tex f th p mbl d
W th peoples f th U d N ns d rm ed
to sa ucceeding ge ra f m th sc g f w wh ch t ce
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level of literacy from 10 per cent to 90 per cent within a decade it is necessary to develop substitutes for experience so that people may learn in a few weeks what they once learned in a lifetime and yet learn it with all of the complexity of genuine human experience Failure to provide such corrections carries automatic penalties for either the desired changes cannot be carried out at all or methods of force and manipulation have to be used which while introducing a particular technology decrease the well being of the people as a whole.

Sixth

In the choice
whether techn
of the whole
cussion is wasted over the relative desirability of using print or radio films or discussion groups cartoons or dramas practice or *demonstration or illustration as ways of teaching new*

lectual or purely aesthetic purely emotion or purely moralistic purely social or purely individual will necessarily restrict the area of involvement. Whether in a given culture films or group discussions will evoke a more whole participation in adults or children in the educated or the uneducated on week days or on a holy day are matters which have to be decided by experiment with the full participation of the particular popu

Seventh

In order to preserve the process of change in each culture as a living one through which each generation of human beings in- cr 35 ngly *is able to use the knowledge of every part of the*

instability in the world and is in fact, a threat to peace It has been recognized that accelerating the economic development in the less advanced areas is imperat ve from the stand n oductivity the

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"to

pool th ir technological resources to help the free peoples

The Eco omic and Social Council took a number of steps to stimulate in the United N t ons the development of facilities

among the factors th t imp d the co om c d velopment of unde -devel p d areas, appropriated funds to enabl the Secretary-G eral co-operat n with the Specialized Agencies

( ) to rra ge f unt rn tion l t ams of experts to dvise Gov rnments in conn xion w th th ir eco omic d lopment programmes,

U ed N on Eco mic and Social Council E/1327/Add. 1
L i ed S tes Dep tment J State P bl 3719 P in F
U d N Gen ral Assembly A/64/Add. 1 Resol tio 51 (I)
Ib d. Resol 58 (I)

The Economic and Social Council under the authority of
C d Agen
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s to
take joint and separate action in co-operation with the United Nations to achieve these purposes

Greater development of all resources human and material was recognized as a prerequisite to the attainment of *better*

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of economic development in less developed areas and of economic expansion in general

'The less developed areas which are now generally referred to as economically under developed areas comprise the larger portion of the world North America and Western Europe whose peoples have mastered scientific techniques to control their environment improve their health and develop their production of material goods stand out in strong contrast to vast areas of South America Africa the Middle East and Asia where malnutrition and disease undermine the strength and shorten the life span of the predominantly agrarian and illiterate masses who for a number of geographic, cultural and historical political reasons do not benefit much or at all from the inventions of modern science and technology It has become increasingly clear that the wide gap between wealth and relative welfare ascribed to economic development in a few countries and grinding poverty in most of the others constitutes a basic source of economic and social

t p ct ce tol and l t g ther i pe w th e an th r as good ghbo d
to t st ength t m l ta i t rnatl l pe d ecu ty a d

fram wo k of the Expanded Programme The Assembly adopted these recommendations in November 1949 including the suggestion to convoke a conference on technical assistance

I 1950 where funds equiva

Agenc es

United N tions	23 per cent
Food and Agriculture Org nizati	29 pe cent
Intern ti nal Civil A ti O ganization	1 per cent
Intern ti nal Labour O ganis ti	11 pe cent
United N ti ns Ed c ti nal, Sc ntifi and Cultural Organization	14 per cent
World H alth Organizati n	22 per cent

human t il and hardship It is further stated

In the discuss n de oted to the objectives and nature of the Expanded P ogramme the pass ges below are noteworthy in

Th effectiv ga sati of more rap d ec nomic d lopment

Uni ed N tions Eco mic and Social Council E/1553 Resol tion 222A (IX) Annex I

United N tions, General Assembly A/1251 Resol t 304 (IV) Related t bo re also ibid Resol 305 (IV) Resol tio 306 (IV) Resol 307 (IV) d Resoluti 308 (IV) pa 4 d 10

United N ons Eco mic and Social C uncil, E/1327/Add. 1 and Add. 2

U ted N tions, Eco mic and Social Council, E/1327/Add. 1 pp 52 and 53

(b) to arrange for facilities for the training abroad of experts of under-developed countries

(c) to arrange for the training of local technicians within the under-developed countries and

(d) to provide facilities designed to assist governments to obtain technical personnel equipment and supplies and to arrange for the organizat on of such services as may be appropriate in the promotion of economic development

the needs of the country concerned (4) be provided as far as possible in the form which that country desires and (5) be of high quality and technical competence

The Assembly simultaneously (a) requested the International Labour Organisation to examine in consultation with

countries which suffer from a lack of technicians and special

The announcement of the Point Four programme by the United States gave a strong impetus to further international action *In March 1949* the Economic and Social Council requested the Secretary General in consultation with the Specialized Agencies and with due consideration to suggestions by Member Governments to prepare a report setting forth a comprehensive plan for an expanded programme of technical assistance for economic development of under-developed countries " The Council recommended that this be done pay

(VIII)
U ted N ti ns Eco m d Soc l C ncil E/1327/Add. 1 d Add 2

framework of the Expanded Programme The Assembly adopted these recommendations in November 1949 including k n ch cal assistance

Ag c es

United Nations	23 per ce t
Food and Agriculture Organizat	29 per cent
Int rnational C vil Avi tio O ganization	1 p r ce t
Intern ti nal Labo O ganis t	11 per cent
United N ti ns Educ tional, Sc tific and Cultural Organization	14 p r cent
Wo ld Health Organization	22 per cent

The close interrelationship between economic and social development is heavily stressed in the report prepared by the Secretary-General, mentioned earlier It is stated therein that

to produce more and better food clothi g shelter and the other ecessaries and amen t s of life at a less heavy cost in human toil and ha d hip It is further stated

Eco m d l men h f m f ll nect

In th d m

l owing

Th ffecti e organis ti of m re rap d co mic dev lopment

United N ti ns Eco m d Social Council E/1553 Resol tion 222A (IX) An ex I.

United N tions, Gen ral Assembly A/1251 Resol ti 304 (IV) Related to bov re lso b d Resol t on 305 (IV) R sol tio 306 (IV) Resol 307 (IV) d Resol ti 308 (IV) p 4 and 10

United N tions, Eco mi d Social Council E/1327/Add. 1 and Add. 2

U ted N ons, Eco mic and Social Council E/1327/Add. 1, pp. 52 and 53

(b) to arrange for facilities for the training abroad of experts of under-developed countries

(c) to arrange for the training of local technicians within the und

(d) to tech for in the promotion of economic development.

Among the instructions to the Secretary General it was stipulated that the technical assistance furnished shall (1) not be a means of foreign economic and political interference in the internal affairs of the country concerned and shall not be accompan d h be ieet as a u it that country desires and (5) be of high quality and technical competence

The Assembly simultaneously (a) requested the International Labour Organisation to examine in consultation with the United Nations the most appropriate arrangements for facilitating the admission to the world s centres of training for apprentices and technical workers of qualified persons from countries which suffer from a lack of technicians and specialists necessary to the development of their national economy and (b) resolved to establish an International Centre for Training in Public Administration mainly for candidates from countries in greatest need of access to principles procedures and methods of modern administration

The announcement of the Point Four programme by the United States gave a strong impetus to further international action In March 1949 the Economic and Social Council requested the Secretary Gene l cialized Agencies and Member Government comprehensive plan fo xp nucu programme of technical assistance for economic development of under-developed countries The Council recommended that this h don n

U ted N t o s Ec m d Social C l /E/1310 Resol tl 180 (VIII)

U ted N t Eco m c d Soci l C ncil E/1327/Add. 1 d Add. 2

And, finally among the points that establish the premises for the proposals by the United States there is a point clarifying the reference to questions of a social nature' to which the Economic and Social Council wished due attention to be given

Th refere e to q estions f a soc al ature in the Econom c and Social Council resolutio f 4 March 1949 is understood to mean that the p gramme must tak acco t of ( ) the probable consequ ces of proposed eco omi de elopme ts in terms of th welfare of th popul tio at larg (b) th social co ditions, cus toms and val es in a giv rea that will directly influence the kinds of economic development that may be feas ble a d desirable (c) the specific social improvem ts th t may be ecessary in order to permit effectiv eco om dev lopments (d) the social problems particularly probl ms f dislocatio of family and community life, th t m y arise as co com tant of eco mic ch ng It is not

The United Nations therefore definitely envisaged that

U der-developed c tries may eed assist ce in analys ng

OBJECTIVES OF THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Each of the Specialized Ag cie (s e Chart, p 315) in its

nm h

ILO (INTERN TIO AL LABOUR ORG NIS TION)

Social ju t e is p requis t f pe ce Th ILO will promote

Ibid. p 56

will require broad vision and sustained effort on the part of both the under-developed and the developed countries and on the part d h Spec alized Agencies Patterns of

I

Noting that the accumulation of capital and te o ga technical skills on the scale necessary for effective economic development are often possible especially in under developed countries only through governmental action the report states

he governments of olves aspect l tical courage and administrative compete these stresses within manageable l mits and to make necessary adaptations in the social inst tut ons and practices of the developing countries

Among the prerequisites for the effectiveness of a technical m lating and accelerating sound (a) practical approach sonnel (d) supplies and equipment and (e) continu ty Vi reference to (b) favourable environment *it is stated in part*

*Any comprehensi e programme of economic development will in*volve far reaching changes in the social and economic structure of an under-developed country

In some countries existing social institutions may hamper eco- Obsol *d op essi e systems of land* retard

les and s *must* s may ha e lived on u c nselves to new surroundings *and learn n w* work hab t and d sciplines. Indiv duals possessed of financial resources mu t be prepared to invest in new productive enterprises and not merely to hold their wealth in land precious metals or commod ty stocks Merchants must learn to th nk *in terms of wider m rkets and n* rrow profit marg ns instead of maximum profits on a small olume of sales Traditional methods of so l culti at on and ha d cr ft must often be modernized New crops and new breeds of l estock m y be introduced These changes will often impose cons derable psychological and social stra ns but those strains may be greatly e sed and their durat on shortened if an effort i m de to make th econom c development programme itself a d the ch ng which are necessary for its success as w dely understood as poss ble m ng those whose interests are affected

of compl te phy ical, mental, and social well being and not merely the bsence of disease o infirmity

Th aims of WHO are not only to further protecti e m asures, such as th limination of reservoirs of commu cabl diseases but also to promot m asures toward pos t e health by means of public health ed cati n in the w dest sense

Amo g th prin ples e unciated by Member St tes of WHO in its charte the f llowing are directly rel t to the social aspects

14 of basic importance the

and social measures.

UNICEF (UNITED N TIO S INTER ATIONAL CHILDREN S EMERGENCY FUND)

1 co-operat ve on

ICAO (INTER TIO AL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION)

to peace

BANK (INTERN TIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT)

FUND (INTERN TIONAL M NETAR FUND)

Established f the purpos of sultat on and co-operati on int rnati nal m etary probl ms, FUND like BANK, hopes to

U ted N ns WHO C t t to pp 29-43

United N ns UNICEF UNICEF

U ed N ICAO Intern tional Civil Aviati Conf ence Final Act and R la ed Documents

United N ti FUND and BANK A ticles f Agr ment

mnrn —

ʌ y a ıd week
the regulation of the labour supply
the prevention of unemployment

—

ʟ a ıu ınjury
the protection of children young persons and women
protection of the ınterests of workers when employed ın coun tries other than their own
recognition of the principle of freedom of assoc ation
the organization of vocational and techn cal education and other measures.

FAO (FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION)

Common welfare will be promoted by the FAO by means of action toward raising levels of nutrition and standards of living of the peoples
ec — — — I

UNESCO (UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION)

The nat ~ ~
— —

ʟ u
fulfill L ei
mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples
popular education and the spread of culture
mainten nce increase and d ffusion of knowledge

jurisdiction)

WHO (WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION)

Attainment by all peoples of the highe t poss ble level of health is the principal objective of WHO and he lth is defined a a st t

U ited Natio ILO Co tt t t
L ted N t FAO C t t t
United Natio U esco Co t t t on

of compl te phy cal me tal, and social well being a d not merely *th bse ce f d sease or infirm ty*

Th aims of WHO are not only to furth r protect ve measures, su h as the elimin tion of reservoirs of commun cable diseases but also to promot m asures tow rd pos ti e health by means of *p bli health educ ti in the w dest sense*

Am g th prin ples unciated by Member States of WHO in its hart the f llo ing are directly rele ant to the soc l aspects

Healthy dev l pm t of the child is of bas c importance the *bility to li harm ni usly in a changing total environment* is ssential to such d elopment.

Go rnme ts ha e respons bility for th health of the r peoples hi h can be fulfilled only by the pro is on of adequate h alth *and social measures.*

UNICEF (UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN S EMERGE CY FUND)

ICAO (INTER ATIO AL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION)

Th

BANK (INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT)

The Intern tional B nk was established "to as t in the reconstruction d dev m

U ted N tions, WHO *Const tion* pp 29-43
U ted N ns UNICEF, *UNICEF*
U ted N tions ICAO I ternati al Ci il A iati Co f ence Final Act d R l ed Documents
United Nations, FUND and BANK, *A ticl f Agr ement*

facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade wh ch in turn would contribute to the maintenance of high levels of employment and real income and to the development of the productive resources of Member countries

In addition to the above listed Specialized Agencies the International Telecommunications U ^ T
Postal Union (UPL
in such phases of te
ence in their partici
as the International
posed Inter governm
(IMCO) may also
grammes.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

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OBSERVATIONS ON AND GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF AN EXPANDED PROGRAMME OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Council recommends the following principles to serve as guides to the United Nations and Specialized Agencies participat ng in the expanded programme of techn cal assistance hereinafter called the participating organizations

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

The participating organizat ons should in extend ng techn cal assistance for economic development of under-developed countries

1 Regard it as a primary objective to help those countries to strengthen the r nat onal econom es through the development of their industr es and griculture with a view to promot ng their econom c and polit cal indepe dence in the spirit of the Charter of the Un ted Nations and to ensure the attainment of h gher levels of econom c and soc al welfare for their entire populations
2. Observe the following general principles la d down in General Assembly Resolut on 200 (III)
   (a) Techn cal assistance for economic development of under

Ib d.

dev loped co es in eq es ypes tech cal se l es h h de-cr bed th 'prog mm and which ar desig ed t as ist them in thei economic developm t.

dev loped countries shall be re dered by the partic p ting org izat ns nly in gr em t with th go rnm nts con c rned and on the bas s of requests rece ed *from them*

(b) Th kinds f ervices to be r d red to h *country* shall be decid d by the gov rnme t o cern d

(c) The countries d ring ass stance sh uld perform, in ad wo k poss ble n order to d fine d

(d) a d pol t cal int rf re e the int rn t au the co ntry co cerned and t be ccompanied by any cons der t of pol t cal n tur

( ) Be gi nly to o through gov rnments

(iii) Be d gn d t m et the needs of the cou try con c rn d d

(i) Be prov ded s f r as poss ble in the form which *th t country de ires*

3 A d dist ct ns rising from the pol t cal struct re of the country req esting assistance or from the race or rel gion of its popul ti n.

STANDARDS OF WORK AND PERSONNEL

1

2

3

ass gnm ts u dertaken su h prep rations sho ld be de- gned to gi e u d rsta d g of the b d objecti es of the comm ff rt and to enco rage ope -minded ess and ad pt b l ty

4 Experts and gro ps f experts is ting a cou try should ot eng g in polit cal, comm rc l o any acti t es other than those fo which th y se t. The scope of th ir dut es hould be strictly d fined ea h case by gr ment betwe n th coun try questing as stan and th organizat ns prov ding assist an

5 E n hen allocations are committed, projects should not be comm d less p ope ly qualifi d experts d assistants ha bee secu ed and tr ed.

6 All go rnm ts hould be in ted to co-operate in the securing and selecting of q lified taff d to f c l tat when ecessary rrangem ts f th ir temporary rel as and for th ir co ti ed mployment on return

7 U r tie tech ic l schools, fou d t ons rese rch inst tu t ons d th go rnm tal so ce fr m wh ch experts m

PARTICIPATION OF REQUESTING GOVERNMENTS

The requesting governments should be expected to agree

1 To facilitate the activities requested from the participating organizations by assisting them to obtain the necessary information about the problems on which they have been asked to help such information to be limited strictly to questions directly related to the concrete requests for technical assistance and whenever appropriate to facil tate their contacts with individuals and groups in addition to government agencies concerned with the same or related problems
2 To give full and prompt consideration to the technical advice they receive as a result of their co-operation with the participating organizations in response to the requests they have initiated
3 To undertake to maintain or set up as soon as practicable such governmental co-ordinat on machinery as may be needed to

4

5 To undertake the sustained efforts for economic development, including continuing support and progressive as umption of financial responsibility for the administration of projects initiated at their request under internat onal auspices
6 To publish informat on or provide for study and analysis material suitable for publication regarding the results of the technical assistance rendered and the experience derived therefrom so that it may be of value to other countries and to the international organizations rendering techn cal assistance
7 To inform the part c pat ng organizat ons whenever technical assistance is requested of all assistance wh ch they are already receiving or request ng from other sources in the same field of development
8 To give publicity to the programme within their countries.

CO-ORDINATION OF EFFORT

1 The projects falling with n the competence of part cipating ... n and the co- ... h due regard to ... between them
2. ... n zation under ... should be such as to be ... rmal work.
3 Arrangements should be made for request for ass t nce within the sphere of two or more organizat o s to be h ndled jointly by the organizations concerned d there should be co-ordination among the part cip t g org n zat ons at the planning le el before commitments by them are entered into with governments.

4 Techn cal assist ce acti t es which te n t t the prese t — nec l re po bil ty f y Spec lized Age cy uch

5

6 Pr grammes of train g sh uld be th subject of co-operati e actio amo g p rti p ting rganizat ns

CO CENTRATION AND ECONO Y

W thi th wid ra g f ct t es e sag d the p rt c p ting o g izati hould p actise, pec ally in th n t l st ges of th p grammes ent t f eff rt and eco my The p r ti p ting org nizations sh ld also nsure the fullest use of any xisting f ilit es

SELECTION O PROJECTS

1 Th parti p ting ganizat ons, in dec ding a reque t f r ass sta h ld b gu d d s l ly by the Ch rte f th Un t d N tions by the p in ples f th Unit d N t ons p gramme f te hni l ss ta d by app p te r sol t s of the G al Assembly and of the Eco m nd Soc l Co l. Th servic ged sh ld im t nc e sed p od cti ty *f m t al and h m eso rces d a w d d eq t ble*

hich directly ff ct th econ m d l pm t. Req e ts f tech l ss ta m y the f e be ppro ed wh h will h lp go ernm ts t t k cc t of the p ob bl co q ces of proposed p oje t fo o om dev l pm t t rm of the lfar of th pop l ti s wh l in l d g the p omotion

permit eco m d l pme t d t m tigat the soc l prob- l ms—partic l ly p bl ms f d sloc tio f f m ly d com m nity l f —th t m y rise co com ta t f eco m c hang As in any t l p gramm f ec m c dev l p- ment an

2 The participating organizations when reviewing and placing in order of priority the requests which they receive should so far as possible ensure that due regard is paid to the urgency of the needs of the various applicants and to their geographical distribution

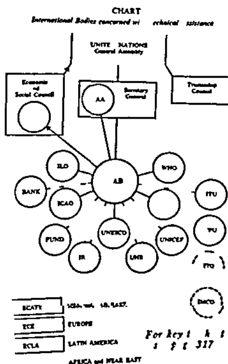
3 In response to requests from governments especially in connexion with plans for economic development special consideration should be given to resources and methods of financing the development It is recommended therefore that participating organizations before undertaking work of an extensive character involving substantial cost should assure themselves that governments requesting such assistance are giving full consideration to major capital investment or large continued governmental expenditure which may be needed as a result of this

4

of technical assistance

CHART

International Bodies concerned wi echnical ssistance



KEY TO CHART

INTERNATIO AL BODIES CONCERNED WITH TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

On this chart the rcl d us re thos act lly or pot nt ally concerned w th the impl me tat on of techn al ass tan e Basic units re link d by *sol d li Clo d l e rcles* indicate funct oning units *p l e circl s* re pot t lit es.

ABBREVIATIONS

United Nati ns Specializ d Ag ncl a d I ternational O ganl.a ti ns

BANK Intern tio al B nk fo Recon truction and Development
FAO Food and Agricult e Org nization
FUND Int rn tio l M etary F nd
ICAO Int rn ti al C l A ati Organization
ILO I ern ti l Labour Orga at

ral

Organizatio
UNICEF United N ti ns Internati al Children s Emergency Fund
UNRWA United Nat ons R l ef and W ks Ag cy f r Pal stin R fugees in th N ar East
UPH Uni rsal P stal Uni
WHO Wo ld Health O ganizat on

U t d Nati ns B d c eat d f th E p d d Programm of T hnic l A sistanc

TAA Technic l Assistanc Adm istratio (UN)
TAB Techn cal Assistance Boa d
TAC Technical Assistanc Committee of the Economic d Social Council

nc l

EXPLANATORY REMARKS

amon

Specialized Ag cy b t re d rs as st c f type th t out d th compet f y ther ingl Spec l ed Age y The BANK and FUND whi h h e b dg ts of th ir own, ar par

ticipating members of TAB UNICEF an independent organiza

sistance proj-

s concerned

in connexion

and could be

old interna

IMCO The

regularly re

n Council nor

Commissions

ORGANIZATION AND DIVISION OF FUNCTIONS

how the various

nical assistance

unctions among

bjects in which

technical assistance is or may be rendered The fields of assistance are divided as follows

UNITED NATIONS

General Economic Development

gion includ ng

nizational and

Industrial Developme t

ment of new industries

to power development and flood-control planning, construction and operation of installations

Power plant construction and operat on transm ss on and dis tribution industrial urban and rural

Appraisal of mineral resources, including geological geophys cal and other techniques of location

Extractive industries mining and m lling

Metallurg cal techniques and processes

Manufacturing industries processing and f bricat ng efficiency of product on and distribution of output

Industrial organization and management

U ted N tio s Tech c l A i t ce Bo rd 1951 pp 7 10

The Technical Ass ta ce Adminst atu of the L d N tl s.

Transport

Appraisal of th potential t es of various means of transport in rel tio to needs and poss bil ties
Ro d transport
Railroad transport
Inland water transport
Shipping

P blic F nanc and Fiscal polici

Fiscal dmin tration a d m nagem t
Budgeting and financi l reporting
R dmin trat n and policy
Public-d bt man gem t
Fiscal machin ry for devel pment projects

St m

Statisti al perat on (collect on, comp lat on d presentation) in rel t on to ec omic d elopme t, ch fields as c nsus wo k d trade, p oduction, n tional income, transport a d pric tatistics

P blic dm str ti

Organizati and co-ordin t on of central a d loc l dm istrati servic s
Standardizati f dmini tr t proced res
Personn l sel ction and training

Social W lf and D lopm nt

Soc al-d el pment pol c

drug dd t n, t tu f minorit and borigin l pop l t o s, d th phy cally h d pped
Community f m ly and hild w lf re

INTERN TIONAL LABOUR ORG NIS TION

Th rel t on f ec omic d l pm t pol c es to l bo come and mpl ym t
Employm t, tr ining and m gr ti n
Industr l rel t l ding m hin ry f th settlement of industrial disp tes
Ind trial saf ty
Occup t onal h lth
Enf m t f l bour l gisl t on ncl d g l bou pect n
Empl ym t p bl ms of wom and y g w k rs

Development of labour statistics
Social security
Wages policy systems of wages payment machinery for the *determination of minimum rates*
Co-operation and handicrafts

— k ~ —— ture

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Agriculture (including irrigation soil management farm ma*chinery crop production insect-control animal breeding* and diseases agricultural research institutes)
Forestry and forest products (including conservation marketing and industrial utilization of timber)
Fisheries
Nutrition (in collaboration with World Health Organization)
Rural institut ons and services (including extension services rural industries and amenit es co-operatives)
Economic and statistical services (including credit, insurance and marketing in agriculture forestry and fisheries)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

Technical education
Elementary education
Fundamental and adult education

ı United Nat ons

INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION

Organization of nat onal civil aviation departments
Economic and technical surveys to ascertain ci il a iat on requirements
Design construction and installations of air n vigat on fac l ties and airports
Organization of air traffic control aeronautic l commun c tions and rad o aids to navigat on flight oper t o cromsor c (meteorology and other ancillary serv ces required by ci l a ia tion
Air transport organizat on and adm nistration
Training in all branches of civil aviation

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

Malaria
Ven real diseases
T berculos

f 1 eue, cholera, typhus, schisto-

M tern l and hild h lth
Social and occup tional health
Health d cation of the p blic
Nutrition
M tal h lth
Health statist cs
Antibiotic and insecticid prod ction

INTERN TIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

ing n
trat e

to pro-

ducti e in estment
Advice on ther important devel pme t problems

INTERN TIONAL MONETARY FUND

ll tied especi lly w th ref re ce t c ild health An ad sory miss on requ sted by a national govern ment to survey needs and ass st in the form tion of an econom c development programme m y be composed of rep e sentatives of the United Nations and of one or mo e of the

Assistance in training to help under-developed countries in building up a domestic corps of technical and specialized per sonn l take the form of fellowships and scholarships made available by the Un ted Nat ons and the Specialized Agencies to government approved cand dates from these countries as well as local seminars and training courses given within a country T aining institutes and seminars are also being established on a regional basis such as for example the Latin American Training Center for Agricultural Stat stics in Costa Rica, or the Tra ning Institute on Economic Appra sal for Dev lopment Projects at Lahore Pakistan which was attended by members f om various countries of South As a

Demonstration projects intended to serve as models to show how ad anc d techniques can be beneficially ad pted and applied to the spec al needs and circumstances of under d veloped countries simultaneously serve as a ds in technical training and offer local personnel opportunities for practical experience These demonstration projects a e also veh cles for spreading knowledge among the population about the nature and application of new technological methods

Devel pment and dissemination of technical information is furthered by practically all United Nations organizations con cerned with technical assistance by means of publ cation and sometimes by reference services They al o further sc ent fic research in their special fields and in the o ganization of con f ences on t chn cal subjects

Experimental pilot plants to ascertain the type of equ p ment and processes most su table for local needs and cond tions, a ailable raw materials and other resources hav been envisaged as one of the means of furthering industrial devel opment in under-developed countries

Technical equipment and supplie n eded for carry ng out technical assistance projects are furn shed by the organizations rendering technical assi ta ce at their xpense but only as an integral part of the p oject. In problems of major cap tal in vestments o la ge continuing governmental expenditu es which m y be need d f r th ntinuance and further dev l p ment of proj cts that could be initiated by t chn cal as stance experts advic nc rn g m th d and cond tio s of financ ing ch p oject can be obtained from organizations like BANK and FUND

PLANNING AND CO-ORDINATION

Th o-o din t n of technical assistance for any one country r quir s at least three plann ng centres each of these cond

S ch equ m at th p perty f the ga za that d rs tech l as ta unless until i is handed to th go ernment th com l tio f the ect,

Assistance in training to help under-developed countries in building up a d mestic corps of technical and specialized per sonnel, takes the form of fellowships and scholarships made avail ble by the United Nations and the Specialized Agenc es to g vernment pproved cand dates from these countries as w ll as local seminars and traini g courses given within a country Training institutes and seminars are also being established on a regional basis such as for example the Latin Am rican Training Center for Agricultural Statistics in Costa Ri or the Training Institute on Economic Appraisal for D v lopment Proj cts at Labo e Pakistan which was attended by members from various countries of South Asia

Demonstration projects intended to serve as models to show how advanced techniques can be beneficially adapted and appli d to the sp cial needs and circumstances of under developed countries simultaneously serve as aids in techn cal training and offer local personnel opportunities for practical experience These demonstration projects are also veh cles for spreading knowledge among the populat on about the nature and application of new technological methods

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Experimental pilot plants to ascertain the type of equ pm nt and processes most su table for local needs and conditions, available raw m terials and other resource have been envisaged as one of the means of furthering industrial devel opment n under-developed countries

Technical equ pment and supplies needed for carry ng out technical assistance projects are furnished by the organizations rend ring t chnical ass stance at their expense but only as an integral part of th project. In problems of major cap tal in vestments o large continuing governm ntal expenditures which may be needed for the continuance and further developm nt of projects that could be in tiated by techni al assistance experts advice o cerning m thods and cond t ons of financ ing su h p jects can be obtained f om o ganizations like BANK and FUND

PLANNING AND CO-ORDINATION

The o-o din t on of technical as stance for any one country equir s t least thr e planning centres each of th se condi

Such equ ment m th operty f the ganiza on th d rs tech l as ta less until t is handed to the go ernment th compl ti f the p ect,

the Unit d States technical co-operation programme from a regional organization or a programme furthered by a private fo nd tion—the problems of correlation become more com plex. Much depends on the degree of liaison and agreement between the organizations involved the degree of co-operation which d velops between the representatives of the respective d h role which the national gov

introduced by the technical experts or teams of experts, and

frustration.

Each Specialized Agency has its own programme-planning procedures (which is some cases re under constant revis on) thin the limitations of its budget, and must consider each request for technical ass stance in relation to other requests, a ailability of resources and personnel and a variety of other factors In c s dering a project for a given country the agency is concerned with the r lat on of that proj ct to the wider field of its pecialization as developed in that country For exam ple the entire fi ld of public health and the manner of the administr tion of a programme must be considered by WHO when specific project, such as one concerned with maternal and child health or one for the pre ention of venereal d s-eases s invol ed. Likewise any FAO project aimed at the int ific ti n o d ersification of crops may immed ately pose q estions abo t the adequacy of storage and marketing facili ties f farm cred ts or d veloping re ettlement schemes etc The inte depe dence of these a d imilar elements and the fact th t many of them directly o ind ectly may require ex t nsi financing—which may not be immediately feas ble—renders the p blems of co-ordination integratio and articu lat on v ry complex

Finally th central international technical ass stance un t, TAB where programmes are reviewed and major projects are appro ed stresses co-ordination b tw en the different Spec al ized Agen ies and liaison w th other organizations whether

stetrics, preventive medicine etc Such changes are bound to alter the "way of life of the group the relat ons between parents and children, the hierarchy of authority the acquisi tion of status and prestige etc. These are precisely aspects of existence which are important for personality development and which give to individuals their feelings of happiness or curity respectively No pro-

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dep ded in th past.

Th re are m ny ex mples of both successful and unsuccessful trod t s of ch ges in these and other re pects A col lect on f uch exampl should serve a us ful purpose as a guide to those who will be respons ble for futu e innovat ons in the life of so-called und -dev lop d p oples

Th P oj ct It s proposed therefore to prepare a manu l or guid utilizing existing sourc mat rial which is at present

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